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A DISCOURSE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL OF the War of Hungary,

AND

Of the causes of the Peace between Leopold the first Emperor of the Romans, and Mahomet the fourth Sultan of Turky.

By LOUIS DE MAY of Salletet, Knight, and Counsellor of his Highness the Duke of Wirtemberg.

Translated in English.

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ORdered by the Lords of His Majeſties Privy Councel that a Book, entituled, *A Diſcourſe Hiſtorical and Political of the War of Hungary*, &c. Tranſlated in Engliſh, ſhal be printed: And diſcharges all other perſons, after the firſt Impreſſion, to print or import any Copies thereof for the ſpace of ten years, without licence of the Tranſlator, under the pain of two hundreth pounds Scots.

Ext. per me

THOMAS HAY.

1828:13

TO THE READER.

THIS Book, which was written for the ſatisfaction of a particular perſon hath been eſteemed worthy of the publick view; neither had the intention been good, to have kept it from the ſight of the world. Theſe who have ſeen it, ſay, when it ſees the light, it will be well received. In this conjuncture of affairs, every man talks of the Peace the Emperor hath made with the Turk according to his own fantaſie, without enquiring what moved that great Prince to come to an accommodation with the Infidells. Many do importunatly deſire to hear the Relation of the late war of Hungary, with all its circumſtances, and yet are ignorant of the original of the troubles, the cauſe of the Hungarians misfortunes, the pretentions of the Ottomans, the deſigns of the Tranſilvanian, and the rights the Houſe of Auſtria hath to that Kingdom: This Book doth exactly clear all thoſe things; It gives us a ſhort abridgement of the Turks wars with the Hungarians. It mixeth Policy with Hiſtory: It deſcrives ſuccinctly the Ottoman exploits in that Countrey, how they have afflicted

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it three hundreth years, ſince Bajazet was invited to come to it: And it gives us a pretty Relation of the late troubles till the Peace was concluded. And upon that Peace hath a particular Diſcourſe, which ſhowes what moved the Emperor to imbrace it, and of the intereſt the greateſt part of the Princes of Europe hath in it. And ſtill the Author with a poliſhed politick ſtyle, ſpeaks like a faithful and unintereſſed Hiſtorian. And though he be not a French-man, yet there is nothing of rudeneſs to be ſeen in his diſcourſe. His expreſſions are not ſtrained or affected: And his language on this ſubject, is no other then what would have becomd a native of France. If you will be at the trouble, Reader, to peruſe the Book, you will be the better able to judge of it. And if you reflect upon the Dialogue of which it is compoſed, you will cry up the dexterity of the Author, who aſſumes the more liberty to ſpeak, becauſe he is to anſwer the demands of a Prince who interrogates him.

THE

THE TRANSLATOR.

Have ſeen Florus Hungaricus, and another piece entituled, The Hiſtory of the Turkiſh Wars in Hungary, Tranſilvany, &c. *The Authors of both which, acquits themſelves very well; but if their intelligence, eſpecially of the late troubles in Hungary and Pole, be not ſo exact as that of this Counſellor of the Duke of Wirtemberg, it is no wonder; for he might more eaſily draw clearer water then they, as being nearer the head of the fountain. They do not determine the cauſes of the laſt war between the Chriſtian and Turkiſh Emperors, ſo well as he ſeems to do, neither doth any of them ſpeak of the Peace, or the motives to it, both which he doth. If it be ſaid, that the late rupture between the King of France (of whoſe praiſes, and ſome other French-men, this Writer is profuſedly liberal) and Spain, doth ſhow that*

that his conjecture of the continuance of Peace between them, proved not right; it may be answered: First, that he could but gueſs, with probability, of future contingencies. And next, if the Emperor did forſee that breach, he had the more reaſon to accept the Peace was offered him by the Grand Viſier. A little time, perhaps, will tell us, that the Author hath not taken up his meaſures right, in his diſcourſe of the election of a King of Pole, yet it cannot be denyed, that he hath written very rationally on that ſubject. And who knowes, but the reſult of the Polonian conſultations at this time, may be ſuch, as may make it appear, he hath not far over-ſhot his mark? For theſe reaſons, I thought that they who underſtand Engliſh beſt, would not think it unworthy of their labor, to hear him ſpeak in that language.

Errata.

Page 5. line 3. for *all*, read *it*. p. 8. l. 6. for *with*, read *by*. p. 12. l. 28. for *banded*, read *bandied*. p. 13. l. 19. for *adreſs*, read *addreſs*. p. 15. l. 22. for *number*, read *numbers*. p. 16. l. 4. for *ſpecious*, read *ſpecious*. ibid. l. 8. for *ſpake*, read *ſpoke*. ibid. laſt line, for *Sciticum*, read *Scithicum*. p. 17. l. 6. for *fatibleſs*, read *faithleſs*. p. 23. l. 1. for *was*, read *were*. p. 26. l. 9. for *ſucceſſors*, read *ſucceſſor*. ibid. l. 15. for *vigorus*, read *vigorous*. p. 27. l. 2. for *they are*, read *he is*. p. 29. l. 18. for *excluded*, read *exclude*. p. 35. l. 12. for *he conjured*, read *he had conjured*. p. 51. l. 15. for *forces*, read *forceth*. p. 55. l. 8. *Rodolp*, read *Rodolph*. p. 72. l. 2. for *never*, read *neither*. p. 83. l. 9. for *maring*, read *marching*. p. 86. l. 3. for *amuniton*, read *amunition*. p. 94. l. 14. for *ever*, read *every*. p. 95. l. 23. for *Coſſaks*, read *Caſſacks*. p. 103. l. 13. for *ſettling*, read *ſetting*. p. 106. l. 29. the cõma ſhould be at Burgundy, and no cõma at Auſtria. p. 110. l. 14. for *it as eaſie*, read *it is as eaſie*.

A DISCOURSE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL OF THE causes of the Turkiſh War:

Or an Abridgment of the Hiſtory of Hungary.

By which may be ſeen how injuriouſly the Great Sultan hath attaked us: And all that is paſſed ſince the year 1350. to the end of the year 1664. By way of Dialogue.

THE Spaniards, whoſe words ordinarily weigh much, ſay, There is no good which doth not arrive, nor evil which is not accompliſhed. I am of the contrary opinion; for we enjoy no ſweets in this life, which are not mixed with bitterneſs: and we find the end of one evil to be but the beginning of another. Theſe perſons whom we account happy, have often more reaſon to lament then rejoyce: And the misfortunate, who far exceed the other in number, fall continually from a leſs diſaſter in a greater. I remember that George Ragotchy, Prince of Tranſilvany, entered Pole, not long ago, as victorious, and came

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out of it with broken wings. At that time you diſcourſed with me of the inconſtancy of Fortune, and ſhew me, that theſe alterations were no new emergencies, in regard many have been ſeen led in triumph, who triumphed but a little before.

G. What ever I have ſaid to you before, I did ever believe, and I hold it ſtill for a certain truth, that moſt part of men have more reaſon to be thankful to God for the good they receive from him, then to petition him for a deliverance from the evils which afflict them: And yet we hear more complaints then praiſes, becauſe we are more ſenſible of pain then pleaſure. A Prince is not ſo much contented to have been victorious all his life, as he is afflicted to ſee Fortune turn her back upon him in one ſingle rencounter. A great Man who almoſt found nothing impoſſible to him, till he was fifty years old, and who had ſeen his moſt redouted enemies brought under his power, ſaid, *That Fortune was a woman, and loved young men better then old.* And retired himſelf to a ſolitary life, becauſe he ſaw his ambition limited by one of the greateſt Empires that ever was. There are ſome who take a permiſſion, raſhly to hazard on any enterpriſe that pleaſeth their capricious humor; and do exceſſively complain, when theſe things which themſelves began without judgement, contributeth to their misfortune. Certain it is, that the Divine Providence, which the vulgar nick-name Fortune, often abateth the pride of the moſt ſucceſsful, to make them acknowledge that what they have obtained, proceded from his Bounty, and not from their prudence. We ſee many States-men, who ſee,

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or think they ſee all things, and yet are blind as moles to theſe calamities; which threaten both their Countrey and their perſons. This I could confirm with infinit exemples; but I paſs them over in ſilence, that I may hear your Demands, and anſwer them as exactly as poſſibly I can.

P. Let us ſpeak then of the preſent wars of Hungary: And becauſe a Diſcourſe you had with me three years ago, led us to the ſight of a dangerous cloud which roſe above Tranſilvany, and that out of it ſince hath iſſued a tempeſt which hath dejected George Ragotchy and Janos Remin, to mount Abaffi on the throne, entertain me with the cauſe and effects of that alteration, that I may know, whence it cometh that the Grand Seigneur, who hath been but a pure ſpectator of the Tragedy which Europe hath acted full thirty years, ſhould now inſolently invade our Neighbors, and thereby give us opportunity to take armes, and with joynt forces and affections, make him repent his enterpriſe. I am confident, that this rupture hath ſo many circumſtances, preceeding, accompanying, and following it, that I may with advantage ſpend ſome days to weigh and ponder them; and that theſe who ſhal conſider them after me, may thereby reap both pleaſure and profit.

G. I have always looked upon your will as a law which ſhould over-rule me, yet I am to obey you in this with ſome reluctancy; becauſe, I fear, I muſt ſpeak more then perhaps willingly I would: And becauſe you muſt know from whence the remedies muſt be taken which are intended for application, I ſhal endeavor to ſatisfie you; And that you may have

reaſon to acquieſce to what I ſay, I will lead you to the ſource and fountain from whence ſprung our miſeries; and will briefly repreſent to you, what the Turk hath done in Hungary ſince Bajazeth came there to ſupport the rebellion, and foment the diſcord. I know, that theſe who know no better, ſay, when the Turk intendeth a war, he hath little regard to juſtice; & that the ſmal difficulty he proponeth to himſelf to meet with in the proſecution of his enterpriſes, is the principal cauſe of his undertakings. For my part I profeſs, that little faith ſhould be given to an infidel; and that the end of the Turks deſigns, is ſeldom other then his advantage: yet it is not impoſſible, for all that, but that he may many times find a ſpecious pretext, wherewith to cover the ugly face of theſe diſorders, which his ambition procureth in the world. And therefore I will ſhow you what reaſon the Otthomans conceive they have to keep the ſoveraignity of Tranſilvany, whereby you will alſo learn the cauſes why we are now calling our forces together, and begging aſſiſtance of Strangers, to defend it againſt them. And then I ſhal come to theſe reſolutions that are now concluded at Ratisbone, by which theſe will be ſatisfied who deſire to know the manner our Princes uſe to contribute for the preſervarion of Germany, and for the maintenance of the war we are engaged in, for our defence, againſt ſo mighty an enemy.

P. I ſhould not receive that contentment which I promiſe to my ſelf by your diſcourſe, if you ſhould only relate ſimply to me what is a doing on our frontiers, how numerous our forces are, and of what worth

worth and merite the Commanders of them be; for theſe who look upon any novelty, deſire to know the cauſe of all. And this war of ours having had its riſe from the diſreſpect was given to the Sultan of Turky by Ragotchy, and the protection which the Emperor vouchſaved to give to Remin Janos, I cannot chooſe, but hear with much ſatisfaction the reaſons why the Grand Seigneur offers to chaſtiſe theſe Princes of Tranſilvany, who offer to raiſe a war without his conſent, and the cauſes which oblidgeth the Emperor to defend them againſt him. Speak then to that as clearly and ſuccinctly, as poſſibly you can.

G. You demand two things of me, which ſeem to be incompatible, yet I ſhal not deſpair to reconcile them, provided you be attentive.

In the year 1350. or as others write 1383. Lewis the firſt of that name, reigned peaceably over the people of Tranſilvania, Moldavia, Valachia, Myſia, Dalmatia, Sclavonia, which were appartenances of his Kingdom of Hungary: But his repoſe was interrupted by a miſchief which he could not prevent, becauſe he could not foreſee it. Joanne Queen of Naples, a Princeſs extreamly diſſolute, having preferred in her affection ſome young Neapolitanes to her huſband King Andrew, put him to a cruel death. The news whereof, with the letters of thoſe who abhorred the parricide, did quickly ſtir up a deſire of a juſt revenge in the ſoul of King Lewis. This generous Prince finding himſelf oblidged in honor and juſtice, to take armes, to avenge the death of his brother, raiſed a puiſſant army, and marched ſtraight to Naples. His expedition was fortunate, for having chaſed

away the Queen and routed her party, he very ſoon reduced the Rebells to obedience, and then puniſhed the principal Counſellors of that deteſtable Regicide.

This being done, ſuppoſing Hungary ſtood in need of his preſence, he bethought him of his return to his ancient Kingdom, but not till he had provided for the preſervation of his new acquired one. He had brought with him, many brave and noble perſons, both for birth and merite; amongſt the reſt Steven Vayvod of Tranſilvany, who though young, had a very hie place in the Kings favor: Him he appointed his Lieutenant, and with him left ſufficient forces to keep the new conquered Neapolitans within the limits of their duty. The departure of Lewis encouraged Joanne, & the Prince of Tarente her new husband, to make an attempt to remount the throne. But the prudence, valor, and fidelity of the Tranſilvanian, rendered their endeavors ineffectual, till Pope Clement the ſixth put an end to the war. The ſignal ſervices which the Vayvod had done to the King his Maſter, both in Naples, and to his friend and Ally, Francis Carcarius, Prince of Padoua, made him dream of vaſte recompenſes, wherewith his hopes fed him: But he did but flatter himſelf; for Lewis not only fruſtrated him of his great expectations, but recalled him alſo from the Government of Naples jealous of the worth and vertue of ſo eminent a perſon.

P. Other great Potentats have done the like, before and after King Lewis. Narſes and Gonzale have furniſhed matter enough to the Writers of their times.

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to lay foul imputations on the Emperor Juſtinian, and Ferdinand King of Arragon. But how did Steven carry himſelf in this his diſgrace?

G. This Tranſilvanian, as accompliſhed a Courtier as he was a Captain, diſſembled his reſſentiment till ſome favorable opportunity ſhould be offered, whereby he might with advantage revenge himſelf. This proffered it ſelf by the death of the King, who left no other ſucceſſor but a daughter, named Mary, athanced to Sigiſmond of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia. The non-age of this Princeſs, the unconſtant humor of the Hungarians, and the practiſes of our Vayvod, procured ſuch a contempt of Mary, that many ſaid publickly, They would not be governed by a Girle. This Cabal knowing the dexterous adreſs of the Biſhop of Zagabria, who was an Italien, both by extraction and inclination, ſent him to Charles the ſecond King of Naples, the ſon of Andrew, and Couſin-germane of Mary. The Biſhop did exactly that for which he was ſent. He offers the Kingdom of Hungary to the King of Naples, and prays him to come & take poſſeſſion of theſe Eſtates, which (as he ſaid) of right belonged to him. Charles gave a favorable audience to the Biſhop, and finding his mind perplexed with paſſions of diverſe natures, required a time to reſolve of a buſineſs of ſo great importance. He broke the matter to his Queen, who forgot not to diſſwade him, both with reaſons and tears, from an entrepriſe dangerous, for the wavering unconſtancy of the people; and ſhameful, for the great injuſtice he ſhould commit, in robbing his near Kinſwoman of her inheritance, without any

color of reaſon. But at length, both Equity, Juſtice and Reaſon, muſt yeeld to Ambition. Charles equippeth a great Navy, and accompanied with an army ſuitable to ſuch a King, he landeth in Dalmatia, and in few days came to Zagabria, where he was met with many of theſe Nobles who favored his entreprise. From thence he marched to Buda: and though he met with ſome reſiſtence by the reſolution of Nicolas Gara, and ſome other faithful ſubjects of the Queen, yet he was eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom by the favor and aſſiſtance of the Tranſilvanian Vayvod. Sigiſmund King of Bohemia, and husband of Queen Mary, ſeeing the loſs of Hungary inevitable, retired himſelf to his own Kingdom. And then Charles thought he had ſtruck a nail in the wheel of Fortune. His joy notwithſtanding was but ſhort, and his uſurpation no longer lived then other violent actions are. Sigiſmund is recalled by the enemies of the Uſurper; and having routed Charles, killed or chaſed all that offered to reſiſt him, reeſtabliſheth himſelf in the Dominions of Mary his Queen.

P. Theſe were marvellous alterations, and no queſtion, ſuch as were of hard digeſtion to the Tranſilvanian.

G. The loſs and defeat of the King of Naples, made the Vayvod diſpair, and forget all that is dear and precious to men, Religion, and Countrey. He trode upon all conſiderations, divine and humane, and hath his recourſe to Bajazet King of Turks, to whom he promiſeth his daughter, on condition that he ſhould aſſiſt him to chaſe Sigiſmond and Mary out of their Kingdom of Hungary. This was the begin-

beginning and original of the miſeries of this (till then) flowriſhing Kingdom; and of the hopes the Infidels conceived to make it a part of their Empire. Bajazet layeth hold on Occaſion, marcheth with a mighty army towards Hungary, meeteth with King Sigiſmund near Nicopolis, between whom was fought a fierce battel, where twenty thouſand Chriſtians, and three ſcore thouſand Turks, were laid in the duſt, upon the 18. of September 1396.

P. I believe it was there where John Duke of Burgundy was taken priſoner, with the loſs of a thouſand Gentlemen, whom he had carried with him to that war. But if I be not deceived, the Turk made no great progreſs in Hungary during the reign of Sigiſmund.

G. Theſe Burgundians kept company with the Hungarians who died at that time. But in Sigiſmund and his Succeſſor Albert of Auſtrias reigns, the Turk gained but little ground in Hungary. He reſolved to go ſoftly, and to be firſt Maſter of Conſtantinople, before he would fix his thoughts elſe where. But for all that, he learned the way to give us viſits. Mahomet the firſt beat the Hungarians at Tautemberg, in the year 1400. And the Infidels advanced by little and little immediatly after the death of Albert of Auſtria. This Prince at his death left his Queen with child, which occaſioned great diviſions amongſt the Nobility. Some thought it fit to wait till the Queen were brought to bed, before any thing ſhould be done in order to the election of a new King. Others made difficulty to obey a child, though ſhe ſhould be delivered of a ſon, and therefore reſolved to chooſe

a King

a King, capable to govern them. Hungary being thus divided, a faction of the Great Ones ſent an offer of the Kingdom to Vladiſlaus, the ſon of Caſimir King of Polen. Another party preferred Ladiſlaus the ſon of Albert, though he was yet in his cradle, and in it they ſet the Crown upon his head.

P. Truth it ſelf doth teach us, what danger Eſtates are in, when they are divided amongſt themſelves: And aſſuredly Hungary hath ſuffered irreparable loſſes by its diviſions.

G. This diviſion of affections and forces moved Amurath the ſecond to take the field: and taking his advantage of the diſcords of Hungary, pierced to the heart of the Countrey, and beſiedged Alba Royal. Yet he got not all done he deſired; but on the contrair, he loſt almoſt all his army, and was forced to raiſe the ſiedge. This affront did irritate the Tyrant, who to have his revenge, entered Hungary with new forces, where he was defeated by John Huniades Corvin. This action, as it gained much reputation to Corvin, ſo it enflamed Amurath with ſpite and rage: and therefore oppoſeth to Huniades, who was conſtantly General of King Vladiſlaus his armies, two of his braveſt Captains, theſe were Iſaac and Mezets, who entered Hungary and Tranſilvany both at once, and filled all places where they came with terror, fire and confuſion. Huniades runneth to the reſcue, rencontreth them loaden with ſpoil, chargeth them gallantly, but unfortunatly; for he was beaten back, and put to flight. Amurath encouraged with this victory, thought on nothing but the utter ruine of the Chriſtian Countreys. Mezets returneth to Hungary, ſpoileth

ſpoileth and waſteth many fair Lands: and having deſtroyed and put to the ſword a world of poor innocents, was thinking of his retreat, Huniades thought he had a fair occaſion offered to repare his former loſs, meeteth with Mezets, chargeth him, and defeateth him ſo entirely, that ſcarce one Turk was left alive to carry the unwelcom news to Sultan Amurath.

P. This good ſucceſs ſhould have encouraged the Hungarians to have attaqued the Turks territories.

G. And ſo they did with much advantage: and without all doubt, there had been a remarkable change of the face of affairs between Hungary and Turky, if the general good had not been ſacrificed to particular intereſt. King Vladiſlaus had in his Court Julian the Legat of the Holy See, and George Deſpot of Myſia, who ſpeaking of nothing elſe but the great fortune and happineſs of Vladiſlaus, the generoſity and gallantery of Huniades, and how eaſie it was to recover what had been formerly loſt to the Turks, carried on the young King to an high enterpriſe. Preparations being made, and the troops gathered together, Huniades is ſent away with the Vanguard. His expedition was ſo fortunate, that he regained many places: And if he had not been kept up by the irreſiſtable cold of a rigorous Winter, it was believed he had marched into the heart of Thracia, and ſubverted the Turks Europeans Dominious. In this expedition, Huniades fought eight conflicts with Carambo, a valiant Turkiſh Captain; in all which, he came off with honor and advantage. The rigide violence of the Seaſon prohibiting him further action, he

he retireth to Buda, carrying along with him, as a Trophee of his victory. Carambo, who having fallen in a pit of ſnow, was forced to yeeld himſelf priſoner. After theſe atchievements, which tended ſo much to the glory of Vladiſlaus, and the immortality of the name of Huniades, the Embaſſadors of the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor, the Venetians, and the Genouays, came to complement the Hungarian King, and exhort him to the continuance of the war, which he had ſo glorioufly, and fortunatly begun. They aſſured him, that all the forces of Chriſtendom would ſecond him. That they ſhould ſend a Navy to ſtop the Turks paſſage over the Helleſpont: And that the Grecians ſeeing their deliverance at hand, would pluck up their hearts, renew their ancient courage, and break in pieces the iron bonds of their ſervitude. The Deſpot of Myſia added to theſe motives, all ſuch reaſons as his vehement deſire to recover both his Principality and his children (who were in the hands of the Turk) could ſuggeſt to him: So that all things, accidents and emergencies ſeemed to diſpoſe the King to the proſecution of a War, as profitable, as honorable for the Chriſtian Commonwealth.

P. I am in expectation to hear the happy ſucceſs of ſo ſtrong a Confederacy.

G. But it tended to the diſaſter and ruine of Hungary, and I ſhal tell you how. Amurath the ſecond King of Turks perceiving all Europe banded againſt him, and fearing the powers of Aſia, in ſo great an exigent, had his recourſe to prudence; and by an admirable dexterity, obtained that peace of Vladiſlaus, which

which the evil aſpect of his affairs made him ſo vehemently deſire. He ſent Embaſſadors, in appearance to treat concerning the ranſom and liberty of Carambo; but in effect to conjure that thunder, and divert that ſtorm which threatned to deſtroy him. The Turks Miniſters knowing what power the Deſpot had in the Kings Counſel, and in the affection of John Huniades Corvin, caſt up a right account, and concluded, that if they gained him, they had done their buſineſs. They caſt up therefore two ſtrong batteries againſt him, and out of them roared upon him with the great Ordinance of Affection and Intereſt, againſt which few men are proof. They offer him a full reſtitution of his Eſtates, with the liberty of his children, if he would obtain of King Vladiſlaus that Peace which they deſired of him on reaſonable conditions. The Deſpot was marvellouſly well pleaſed with this propoſition of the Infidels: And by his dexterous adreſs, got Huniades to be of his party. Theſe two having agreed upon the matter, found no great difficulty to move the King to an accommodation. The Peace is concluded, Amurath retireth his guariſons from all theſe places he kept in Myſia, and reſtored them faithfully, and kept exactly every article of the Peace, not failing in any one of his promiſes. But while both parties are buſied about the execution of the Treaty, cometh letters out of Grecia, ſhowing that the Greeks, who knew nothing of the Peace, did expect every minute the beginning of the war. That in a game wherein they were ſo much concerned, they intended not to ſit ſtill with croſſed arms. That the abſence of the Sultan, then in Aſia, gave

gave them a favorable occaſion to advance their affairs. And that the Italian Navy, which then advanced towards the Helleſpont, with great importunity demanded the ſame thing. When theſe Letters were read in the Kings Counſel, there were not any; nay, even of thoſe who had moſt violently carried on the Peace, but were extreamly grieved that it was concluded. But no man durſt propone the breach of an agreement which was confirmed by oath made in the moſt ſolemn manner. Cardinal Julian, the Popes Legat, a man powerful enough to perſwade, of great eloquence and credit, inſtigated by an indiſcreet zeal, and by an impious piety, endeavored by a ſtout, but well ordered and learned Diſcourſe, to prove that the Treaty concluded with the perfidious Turk, ſhould be broken. He chid the ſcrupulous, encouraged the fearful, and comforted the afflicted, till he moved the King, and the Great Ones, to a rupture of the Peace. He ſaid, he had ſufficiently fore-ſeen the miſchief; but he would not oppoſe the Treaty, leſt he ſhould ſeem to accuſe John Huniades Corvin of want of prudence, or be eſteemed mercileſs to the Deſpot of Servia, who could not get his beloved children out of the Turks power, but by a Peace. He aſſured his Audience, that the buſineſs was not paſt the hopes of a remedy, in regard they might ſafely break Covenant with the Infidel, who by craft and fraud had brought them to the breach of the ſacred knot of a Chriſtian League and Alliance. He repreſented to them, that the Hungarians could not make Peace with the Turkiſh King, without the conſent of their Brethren: and that men could not keep an oath unjuſtly

unjuſtly taken, without a double breach of Juſtice. He endeavored to prove, that the promiſe made and ſworn to Amurath, was void, and did not at all bind their conſciences: and that they ought to give truſt to him, as to one beſt ſeen and known in affairs of that nature. And concluded, that they ſhould bring their forces together, and march to Thracia, there to joyn with the reſt of the Chriſtians, before the fault they had committed ſhould be known over all Europe. Theſe and ſuch like reaſons pronounced with the authority of a Legat, and by a perſon extreamly eloquent prevailed ſo far with the Hungarians, that they agreed unanimouſly not to diſert their Chriſtian brethren in this fair occaſion. And for this effect, their forces are rendevouzed, and Huniades marching with the Vanguard, is followed by King Vladiſlaus with the groſs of the army. On his march, Dracula Vayvod of Valachia, came to him, who told him he wondered of his confidence, that would with ſo inconſiderable troopes hazard to ſeek and provoke ſo mighty an enemy, who uſed to go a hunting accompanied with as great number, as thoſe the King then had with him, and counſelled him to return. His advice was rejected, and ſo the Vayvod leaving four thouſand horſe under the conduct of his own ſon with the King, retired himſelf. Amurath being informed that Hungary armed againſt him, left Aſia, and came to Europe; drew his forces together, as ſpeedily as he could, met Vladiſlaus at Varna, a town in Bulgary, and gave him a total overthrow. The loſs of this day, ſo diſmal to the Chriſtians, and ſo joyful to the Infidels, did let us ſee by the death of Vladiſlaus.

of

of Julian the Legat, & a world of brave Gentle-men, that faith ſhould be punctually kept: & that God puniſheth the perjured, though they cover their perfidy with cloaks of ſpecious colors. They ſay that Amurath ſeeing his men worſted at the beginning of the battel, pulled out of his boſome the Treaty that was concluded between him and the Hungarians, and looking towards heaven, ſpake theſe words with much zeal and paſſion: *JESUS CHRIST, Behold the agreement which the Chriſtians made with me, and ſwore to me by thy Godhead; and by breaking it, hath mocked thee and me. Now, O CHRIST, if thou be a God, as they ſay thou art, revenge the injury they have done to both thee and me: And make it appear to theſe who yet know not thy Name, that thou knows how to puniſh ſuch as violate the Religion of faithful promiſes, confirmed and ſworn by thy Divinity.* This prayer was ſeconded by the entire defeat of the Chriſtians. The head of the King was carried on a lance through many places of Greece and Aſia, as an aſſured teſtimony of a compleat victory. The body of Cardinal Julian, the deteſtable Author of the perfidy, was found ſtark naked, pierced and hacked with many wounds. The Epitaph of this King, both valiant and fortunate, ſo long as he was careful to keep his promiſes, is worthy your knowledge: and it is this.

Romulidæ Cannas, ego Varnam clade notavi;
Diſcite mortales non temerare fidem.
Me niſi Pontifices juſſiſſent rumpere fœdus,
Non ferret Sciticum Pannonis ora jugum.

As

As Varo Cannæ fatal fields did dy
With noble Roman blood, ſo Varna I
Stain'd with Hungarian gore. Learn, mortals, then
To keep your faith and promiſe made to men.
The Pope importun'd me the Truce to break,
Which I with Oſmans faihtleß race did make:
Hence the brave men of fair Pannonias lands,
Muſt now obey the barbarous Turks commands.

This misfortune fell on Hungary the 11. of November, S. Martins day 1444.

P. You have often told me, that the promiſes of men ought to be inviolable, and I was ever of that ſame opinion, and this ſad example confirmeth me fully in it. But did this miſchance ſpread it ſelf over the whole army?

G. It was then the Almighties pleaſure only to chaſtiſe this unfortunate Kingdom; but not wholly to ruine it, and ſo preſerved John Huniades Corvin, who ſeeing all things in a deſperate condition, after the death of the King, ſaved himſelf by flight. The year following, the Hungarians who till then had rejected Ladiſlaus the poſthume ſon of the Emperor Albert of Auſtria, unanimouſly acknowledged him for King, though he was but five years old: and becauſe of his tender age, they committed the management of affaires to John Hunniades who two years after, increaſed Amuraths trophies with the loſs of 22000 Hungarians, which he had brought in the field againſt him. Not long after, Sultan Amurath died at Adrianople, and left his ſon Mahomet to ſucceed him; who ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors in greatneſs of courage, and ſubtilty of ſpirit. This daring Prince in the third year

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his reign beſeegeth Conſtantinople, and taketh it within the ſpace of fifty days, on the 29. of May 1453. As this loſs diſcouraged the Chriſtians, ſo it raiſed Mahomets thoughts to a hie pitch, and furniſhed him with hopes to add Hungary to his conqueſts of Greece. To effect which, he laid Myſia waſte, and laid ſiege with two hundred thouſand men to Belgrade, which in ancient times was called Alba Græca. But the place being notably defended by Hunniades, who for that purpoſe had caſt himſelf into it, the proud Turk loſt almoſt his whole army, with an hundred great pieces of Canon. Hunniades did not long ſurvive this gallant action, but died the 8. of September 1456. Mahomet carrying his hie deſigns to Perſia and Italy, gave liberty to Hungary to breath a while, hoping the ambition of the Nobles, and the non-age of the King, would raiſe inteſtine troubles in time of Peace, which would give him ſome fair opportunity to ſubdue the Kingdom, ſparing it for ſome ſmal time.

P. But it was no ſmal good fortune to King Ladiſlaus, that the Tyrant did not moleſt him in his younger years after the death of Hunniades. But tell me, what did he when he came to age?

G. The Hiſtory tells us, that when Ladiſlaus was 19. years old, he married Magdelene of France, the daughter of King Charles the ſeventh, and that he dyed of poiſon at Prague in the time of the ſolemnity of his marriage, ſo that he had but little time to make either his vertues, or his vices appear; yet there paſſed ſome conſiderable contingencies between the death of Hunniades, and that of his Maſter the

the King. Hunniades having left two ſons, who were perfect imitators of the vertue of their noble father, gave ſome occaſion of jealouſie to Ladiſlaus, and of an earneſt deſire to his favorites, to be rid of them both. Theſe being envyous of Hunniades his glory, wrought the matter ſo with the King, that he cauſed Ladiſlaus the eldeſt ſons head to be ſtruck off, for killing the Count of Cilie in a combat, to which the Count had appealed him. About the ſame time they clapped Matthias, the ſecond ſon of Huniades in priſon: and not being able to ſuffer the children of that famous worthy, who had ſaved the State, they had aſſuredly made his proceſs, if the death of the King, and the Almighty Providence, which had ordained him to wear the Hungarian Crown, had not put a ſtop to their malice. The Kings death, which fell out in the year 1457. occaſioned a wonderful alteration, Matthias Corvin, the ſon of John Hunniades, is brought out of priſon, where he expected a ſentence of death, and placed in the throne: And all theſe who envyed both his fathers glory, and his own, could not hinder a man but of an indifferent quality, to be preferred to the whole family of Auſtria, in the year 1458.

P. Theſe effects of the Divine Providence, are admirable. But reigned he glorioufly?

G. Hungary hath had but few Kings like to Matthias: He was ignorant of nothing that belonged to the knowledge of a great Prince, & his reign was glorious, both in the time of peace and war. Many great Hungarian Lords oppoſed his election: and after it, they importuned the Emperor Frederick the third, to

ſet the Crown (which he had a keeping) on his own head; which, ſome ſay, he did. Once certain it is, he did not reſtore it till ſix years after he got in exchange of it, three ſcore thouſand dukats at Newſtadt, a town in Auſtria. A little before its reſtoration, ſome of the factious offered the Kingdom to Caſimir, the ſon of another Caſimir King of Polen, who ſent his ſon to receive it, with a powerful army: but Matthias made haſte to the frontiers, from which he forced the Polonian to return. Theſe inteſtine broils gave both the courage and the opportunity to the Turk to make himſelf Maſter of Boſnia, Raſcia, and a part of Servia. But King Matthias after his Coronation, valiantly regained all was loſt, and reduced Tranſilvania and Valachia to their duty. This happy progreſs prompted Matthias to undertake an irreconciliable war with the Grand Seigneur: and without all peradventure, he had given him work enough, if his heroical deſign had not been obſtructed by the Emperor and the Pope. And this doth evidently appear by the letters which he wrote on that ſubject to the Electors of the Empire, and to the Cardinal of Arragon. To the firſt he remonſtrats, that when he was on the river of Savus, going to fight with the Infidels, he received certain intelligence that in a Dyet at Vienne they had reſolved to invade him. To the ſecond he wrote, that the Pope favored the Venetians, who had taken from him the Ile of Valga, without any occaſion given by him: and not ſatisfied with that, his Holineſs endeavored to take from him the power to confer Eccleſiaſtical Benefices within his own Kingdom, of purpoſe to diſgrace him with his own ſubjects.

P. But

P. But I think there is little appearance that theſe two Princes, whom it moſt concerns to chaſe the Turk out of Europe, ſhould endeavor to keep the ſwords of thoſe in their ſheaths, who would gladly draw them againſt that common enemy,

G. I ſhould alſo be of your opinion, if Peter de Reva had not told us, that he copied theſe things out of the original, and adds that which ſeems more incredible. In his fifth Century of his Monarchy of Hungary, he tells us that the Emperor ſeaſed on all the moneys which the Spiritual and Temporal Lords of Hungary had contributed for the war which Matthias intended againſt the Turk: and that the Pope helped to drain the Kingdom of moneys, by ordering Collections to be made for the Knights of the Rhodes. Yet all theſe blocks that were laid in his way, did not hinder Matthias by his Generals Paul Caniſi, and Steven Battori, to defeat and chaſe Ali Beg out of the field, with the loſs of threeſcore thouſand Turks: and thereafter in perſon to regain Jaitſa, and reduce Boſnia to his obedience. Yet theſe traverſes at home neceſſitated him to make a truce with Mahomet: And the Tyrant dying in the year 1481. Matthias with all his force reſolves to renew the war; and for that purpoſe deſired a Safe-conduct from the Emperor for his Embaſſadors to come and treat of an accommodation; but could not obtain it. He intreated alſo the Pope to give him Zemini, the ſon of Mahomet, that he might make uſe of him againſt his brother Bajazet, who a little before had taken upon him the government of the Turkiſh Empire. But this was refuſed him by his Holineſs, which ſpited Matthias the more,

that it was done, not to looſe a piece of money which was yearly payed to the Pope by Bajazet, for the detention; or, as it was called, the maintenance of his brother Zemini. Beſides, this Pope by his Spiritual Authority obliged Matthias to confirm the Truce with Bajazet, which he had made with his father Mahomet. Shortly after, this brave King, looking upon all the indignities he had received from the Emperor, as inſupportable for any generous ſoul, declared open war againſt him: which proved ſo fortunate on his ſide, as having brought the greateſt part of Auſtria under his obedience, at length he over-maſters Vienne and Newſtadt, the two great bulwarks of that Arch-Dukedom: From thence he marched to the Kingdom of Bohemia, and made himſelf Maſter of Sileſia and Moravia. But Caſimir King of Polen, would have a ſhare of the booty, and therefore entered Sileſia with a mighty army; but by the mediation of the Princes of the Empire, theſe two Kings agreed, that both Matthias and Vladiſlaus, the ſon of Caſimir, ſhould bear the tittle of Kings of Bohemia: but Vladiſlaus ſhould alone enjoy the Electoral dignity, and the Kingdom: Matthias keeping in his poſſeſſion the Provinces of Sileſia, Moravia and Luſatia, redeemable after his death for four hundred thouſand Crowns. While Matthias was buſied in theſe wars, the Turk breaks the Truce, and ſeaſeth on Killen and Neſter-Alba, which (at that time) were accounted ſtrong holds on the river Danube. At length this valiant King, having reigned five years at Vienne, and while there was a Treaty on foot for the reſtoration of it to the Emperor, he dieth on the tueſday before Eaſter

Eaſter, in the moneth of March 1490. His corps was carried to Alba Royal, and interred with his Predeceſſors the Kings of Hungary.

P. It was fitting this martial Prince ſhould die on Mars his day, and in the moneth which hath its name from Mars. But it is pitty his valor was not ſtill employed againſt the common enemy: and I am ſory that theſe who ſhould have exhorted him to it ſhould have diverted him from ſo glorious an undertaking. But I pray, who ſucceeded him?

G. Matthias Corvin having no lawful iſſue, wiſhed that his natural ſon John Hunniades, might have been elected to be his ſucceſſor. But after his death the ſpirit of diviſion poſſeſſed the Hungarians. Four Princes pretended to this divided Kingdom; and the Nobility being divided in four Cabales, favored him with their votes whom they conceived moſt worthy of ſo great an honor. John the ſon of the late King, had the ſuffrages of theſe who reverenced the vertues of his Grand-father, and father, which eminently appeared in him, and of ſuch alſo who would more gladly obey a born Hungarian, then a ſtranger. The ſecond party ſtood for Albert Jagellon, the ſecond ſon of Caſimir King of Polen, whom his father furniſhed with forces to fight againſt Vladiſlaus his elder brother, who made the third party; Caſimir thinking his ſon Vladiſlaus might well enough be ſatisfied with the Crown of Bohemia. The fourth Cabale inclined to elect Maximilian, ſon of the Emperor Frederick; but he was excluded, becauſe Vladiſlaus his party prevailed. During this interraign, the Emperor recovered all that Matthias had taken from him in Auſtria: and at length

Vladiſlaus, maugre all the Competitors, mounts the throne. The beginning of his reign was troubleſom; for his brother Albert, aſſiſted with his Uncles the brothers of Caſimir King of Polen, beſeegeth Caſſovia, the capital City of the higher Hungary, and ſo gave him work on that ſide. Blaiſe Magger a dependent of John Corvin, being offended that his Maſter was rejected, refuſed to deliver the Crown which was in his keeping, to the new King: upon which, he was beſeeged at Viſſegrad, which he held bravely out, and would neither deliver Town nor Crown, till he had command ſo to do from his Maſter. Maximilian having recovered his loſſes in Auſtria, advanced towards Hungary: and being aſſiſted by theſe who had favored his election in the interreign, made a ſucceſsful progreſs. Vladiſlaus fainting under the burden of ſo many troubles, came to an agreement with Maximilian: the tenor whereof was ſo hateful to the Hungarians, that the Palatine Emeric Prini, cauſed proclaim through all the ſtreets of Presburg, that he neither did, nor ever would conſent to it. But this generoſity of his laſted not long; for being gained by preſents, he ſigned the articles of Peace by which the Crown and Kingdom of Hungary is entailed to the Houſe of Auſtria, if Vladiſlaus died without iſſue. You may ſee here a diſeaſe cured by the application of a remedy odious to the whole Nation. This tempeſt not yet well allaid, uſhered in another, conjured up by Albert, another Polonian pretender, whoſe heart could not brook it, to ſee his brother King of Hungary: he takes armes, and beſeegeth Caſſovia the ſecond time. But while he endeavors to take it, he is

taken

taken himſelf, and forced to give ſurety to ſuffer Vladiſlaus to live in quyet. Shortly after Vladiſlaus married, and within three or four years had a ſon and a daughter, Anne and Lewis; both of them famous in the Hungarian Hiſtory. Anne was married to Ferdinand of Auſtria, Grand-child to the Emperor Maximilian, who by her had a numerous iſſue, whoſe poſterity reigns yet in Germany and Hungary. The accidents of the birth, life and death of Lewis were extraordinare. He was born without a skin, which made his ſubjects fear he ſhould be ſpoiled of his Kingdom. He wore a beard when he was but fifteen years old, and was gray haird of eighteen; which made moſt men conclud his life to be ſhort. He died in a mariſh, at Mohats, when he was but twenty years of age; at which time, the greateſt part of his Kingdom fell in the hands of the Mahometans: Which makes us ſee, that theſe preter-natural accidents proved truly ominous, as we ſhal find hereafter. Vladiſlaus making no more account of what had paſſed between him & Maximilian of Auſtria, cauſed crown his ſon Lewis at Alba Royal by the hands of Thomas Cardinal of Strigonium, in the year 1508. And the year after, he got him to be crowned King of Bohemia at Prague, when he was but three years old. The Emperor Maximilian was hugely diſſatisfied with theſe things; but Vladiſlaus entertaining peace with the Turk on the one ſide, and ſupported by Polen on the other, he was forced to diſſemble his reſſentment.

P. Ordinarly a great calm is followed by a great tempeſt: and if it fell not out ſo with Vladiſlaus, he hath been fortunate beyond his merite.

G. Towards the end of his life, and after the death of Bajazeth, a civil war began in Hungary, which was like to ruine it entirely, upon this occaſion. The King had a great deſire to invade Selim Emperor of Turky, who was kept buſie at home diſputing the Crown with his brother Achmet: which deſign he communicates to Pope Julius the firſt. The Pope approves of it and promiſeth his aſſiſtance; but prevẽted by death, left the management of it to his Succeſſors. Mean while Vladiſlaus bethinks himſelf better, and renews with Selim the Peace he had made with his father Bajazet. This Peace exceedingly diſpleaſed thoſe who loved war: and a little after, Cardinal Thomas Legat for the Holy See, came to Hungary with a Croiſade, to joyn the Nobility and Commons in a vigorus purſuit of a war againſt the Infidels. The common people who had been ever till then uſed with much rigor, thinking the time to recover their liberty was now come, turned their armes againſt the Nobles. Their numbers made them inſolent: and they elect one George Sekell, firſt for their General, and then for their King. He and his rable having cõmitted a world of miſchiefs, laid ſiege to Themiſware, where his army is defeated, and himſelf and brother Lucatius taken priſoners by John Zapoliha, Vayvod of Tranſilvany. This action put Zapoliha in ſo high credit with the better ſort, that Vladiſlaus was contemned, and nothing more ſpoken of then degrading the King, and mounting the Vayvod in the throne. But Vladiſlaus prevented the diſgrace by his death, which fell out in the year 1516.

P. By what you tell me, I am perſwaded the Hun-

Hungarians are hugely loyal and affectionate unto their King, when they are gallant; and that they are eaſily moved to change him for another, when he is not ſo.

G. A warlike people deſires ever to ſee their King a horſe-back. when the preſervation of his Eſtate requires him ſo to be. And though experience ofteu teach us, that the preſervations of the perſons of Kings preſerves Kingdoms, yet a people is ever deſirous to ſee their King on the head of their army. But for all that, the Hungarians have reaſon to be of another opinion: and their Hiſtory will let them ſee, what a misfortune it is to looſe a King with looſing a battel. Lewis in his tender years ſucceeding his father Vladiſlaus, was vilipended by Sultan Soliman, who knowing his weakneſs, and the diviſions that then were amongſt Chriſtian Princes, thought this time convenient to bring Hungary under his ſubjection. To this effect he makes peace with the Perſian, and ruſheth upon Lewis with all his forces. This young King knowing how unable he was alone to grapple with ſo mighty an enemy, prayed other Chriſtian Potentats to ſend him ſuccours, and not to permit the Bulwark of Chriſtendom to fall into the hands of the common enemy of believers. His prayers prevailed not, for Chriſtendom then was tearing it ſelf in pieces; ſo Lewis was forced to take the field, yea even before theſe troopes were brought together, of which his army was to be compoſed. The Turk had already paſſed the Save and the Drave; and meeting with the Hungarians, both few in number, and evil provided of a General, did without any difficulty obtain the victory

victory; and that ſo compleatly, that the King and the moſt part of theſe that followed him, were loſt, one way or other, either in battel, or the flight.

P. I have heard ſay, that two and twenty thouſand Chriſtians died at this fatal field: and that beſides horſes of ſervice, five thouſand wagons, fourſcore pieces of great canon, and ſix hundred leſſer ones, with all furniture and amunition neceſſare for ſuch a train of Artillery, fell in the hands of the Victor.

G. The loſs of the battel was but a ſmal matter, in compariſon of that which followed. The Turk killed and took more then two hundred thouſand perſons. And did ſo far advance in Hungary, and fixed himſelf ſo firmly in it, that till this hour he could never be removed out of it. And no doubt, he hath now more hopes then ever to aboliſh our Religion in that unhappy Kingdom: ſo we have reaſon to write the 29. of Auguſt of the year 1526. amongſt the moſt diſmal days that ever afflicted Chriſtendom, or Chriſtianity. This King died without children; and his want of iſſue did much augment the right which the Houſe of Auſtria pretended to have to the Crown of Hungary. Yet that illuſtrious family did not find the Hungarians much inclined to ſubmit themſelves to their domination. John Zapoliha, Earl of Sebuſia, and Vayvod of Tranſilvany, who came too late with his forces to defend the Crown, thought he was come ſoon enough to ſet it on his own head. He had of a long time imployed both his means and his pains to gain the affections of the whole Kingdom. And by the defeat he had given not long before to George Sekell, and the peaſants who had made him King, he had

had opened to himself a way to the Royalty. Seeing himself now in a condition to have the greatest hopes, he prays, he exhorts the whole Nobility, and every one of them in particular, not to loose the right and privilege they had to elect a King, and to make their generous resolutions in order thereto known at the next Dyet. He remonstrats to them that Hungary had never been happy in subjecting it self to the dominion of a strange King. That Sigismund of Bohemia and Vladislaus of Pole, the first by his defeat at Nicopolis, the last by his overthrow at Colembat and at Varna, had given sufficient evidence how misfortunatly strangers govern that Kingdom. He endeavored to make them believe, that though a strange Prince might reign gloriously in Hungary, yet it would be both more profitable and honorable for them to have a King of their own Nation. That the best governed Common-wealths excluded the feminine sexe from the Scepter, for fear it should come in the hands of strangers. That the Hungarian Nobility was not so degenerated, but there was heads amongst them worthy to carry a Crown. And though himself was none of the bravest, yet he thought not himself incapable to govern a great State, and defend it with the point of his sword.

P. There are few Nations who do not abhor the yoke of a stranger. What was the result of the Hungarian consultations?

G. The great merits and exhortations of Zapolha prevailed so far with the greatest part of the Nobility, that they invested him with the Royal dignity, and caused crown him by Paul Deverda, Archbishop of Strigo-

Strigonium, on Martinmas day 1526. But to help the courſe of this miſerable Countrey to its ruine, Stephen Battori, and ſome other Great Ones, who looked upon the advancement of Zapoliha with an envyous eye, ſided with Ferdinand of Auſtria, and ſupported his intereſts. This Prince fortified with the acceſſion of his new Kingdom of Boheme, with the victorious forces of the Emperor Charles the fifth, his brother, with the marriage of Anne, ſiſter of the late King, with the pretenſions which Ladiſlaus, ſon of Albert the firſt, left to the Auſtrian family, and the help of ſome Hungarian Lords, thought that the Kingdom could not eſcape him. In effect, Ferdinand aſſiſted by his right, and his friends, declared himſelf King, and takes the field with an army: and knowing the readieſt way to kill a creature is to ſtrike it at the heart, he marcheth ſtraight to Buda, the capital City of the Kingdom. King John aſtoniſhed at this blow, abandons the Town, Ferdinand makes himſelf Maſter of it: and ſhortly after beats his Competitors army, and chaſes him entirely out of the Kingdom. The courſe of this good fortune was ſtopped by the Turk, who regains Jaitſa, the chief town of Boſnia, which Matthias Corvin had taken with extraordinary valor. This loſs, and the ſafe retreat of Zapoliha, made King Ferdinand believe, he had not yet done his buſineſs; but that Soliman and John would cut out more work for him, then he had reaſon to deſire.

P. I would gladly know whether this titular King retired himſelf, & what he did to recover his Eſtates?

G. This poor Prince beaten by Ferdinands force, and the revolt of his ſubjects, betook him to his ſhifts.

He went to Pole, & adreſſed himſelf to Jerome Laſco, Vaydod of Siradie, an illuſtrious perſon, both by birth and vertue. Laſco over-joyed with the preſence of ſuch a gueſt, offered him all that was in his power: and having maturely conſidered and reconſidered all means for his reeſtabliſhment, at length adviſeth him to have his recourſe to Sultan Soliman. And becauſe theſe who give counſel ſhould ever be ready to put it in execution, he undertakes the journey himſelf: and having obtained a recommēdatory letter from Sigiſmund King of Pole, he goes ſtraight to Conſtantinople. This great Man, who had been before Embaſſador at the Port, made it ſoon known how fit a perſon he was to agent a buſineſs of that importance. He gained on his ſide by preſents of great value, Abraham the firſt Vizier, Luſtibey, and Lewis Gritti, who were in hie favor with the Grand Seigneur. Theſe being well inſtructed by the dexterous prudence of Laſco, eaſily perſwaded the Sultan that it would be both honorable and profitable for him, to take the exiled King in his protection, and reſtore him to his Kingdom. Mean while, Ferdinand fearing the practiſes of Laſco, ſent John Oberdans, a Hungarian Lord, Embaſſador to the Port, to deſire the friendſhip of Soliman, and to demand (a little unſeaſonably) the reſtitution of all he had taken in Hungary ſince the death of Lewis the ſecond. This highly offended the proud Sultan, who anſwered, That the Ottomans were not accuſtomed to grant their friendſhip to thoſe who had offended them. That Ferdinand was in the wrong to deſire it, after he had invaded an Eſtate to which he had no juſt pretenſion. That he thought him unwor-

unworthy of that he deſired. That he would be revenged of the injury he had done him: And commanded Oberdans to be inſtantly gone out of Conſtantinople, and tell his Maſter, that he denounced war againſt him. That he would come into Hungary and bring the keys of theſe places with him which Ferdinand demanded.

P. The Turk ſpeaks with a wide mouth: and if his actions correſponded with his words, aſſuredly he made Ferdinand repent that he had given an interruption to Zapolihas repoſe.

G. Soliman did not all he would; but deſiring to be a man of his word, he took the field with a dreadful army, and in the Spring advanced to Hungary. King John went to wait on him at Bellgrade, accompanied with Laſco, and as ſplendide a company of the Nobility, as was poſſible for him to bring together. And in that great Aſſembly he did homage to the Infidel, and acknowledged him for his Lord. The Sultan a little moving himſelf in his ſeat, gave him his hand, and aſſured him that nothing could be ſo pleaſing to him, then to ſupport and reſtore the afflicted and oppreſſed. He bid him be of good courage, and told him, He would reſtore to him all he ſhould recover from his enemy Ferdinand. Theſe promiſes were confirmed by a moſt ſolemn and pompous oath, after the faſhion of theſe unbelievers, who in all their actions will appear beyond that which they are. All things being ſet in order, Soliman marched to Buda, which he might eaſily take, in regard it was abandoned by the German guariſon. And then he forced Thomas Nadaſdy to give over the Caſtle whereof he

was

was Governor. This victory gave opportunity to the Turk to reeſtabliſh John in the Royal dignity, which accordingly he did. Then treading over the bellies of all that durſt offer to reſiſt him, he laid ſiege to Vienne. He battered it with all imaginable fury and artifice: but if it was well attaqued, it was as well defended by Philip the Victorious, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and Nicolas Count of Solms, who forced him to retire with ſhame; and to confeſs, that who would take Vienne, muſt have good mittains.

P. That place hath been for more then an age the mark at which the ambition of the Ottomans hath aimed. They fancy to themſelves, if they had once poſſeſſion of the ſeat and ordinary reſidence of the Emperor of the Weſt, they would quickly pluck from us the head of the Roman Eagle, which is yet amongſt us. But in regard, the Turk did rather fly then retire, and that he was rather covered with Cypreſs then with Lawrels, let us follow him, and ſee what he did afterward.

G. I ſhal paſs over all he did which makes not to our purpoſe, neither ſhal I ſpeak of his inhumane cruelties, or the horrible marks he left of his indignation. Let it ſuffiſe that I tell you, that being arrived at Buda, he cauſed bring before him all the Royal Ornaments, and in preſence of many great perſons, as well Chriſtians as Mahometans, he ſaid thus to King John: *Brother, and Friend, Since next to God, thou had thy recourſe to me in thy calamity, I was pleaſed to be favorable to thee, and I have handled the matter ſo, that thou art Maſter of thy Kingdom: Now I deliver in thy hands the City and Caſtle of Buda, with all Hungary;*

whereof I declare thee King. And turning to the Hungarian Lords, he proceeded thus: *I command you to be faithful and obedient to your King here preſent: If you do ſo, I ſhal be your friend: If you do otherwiſe, I will deſtroy you with my ſeimeter. And thou, O King, my friend, Remember of the great benefit thou hath received of God, and of me. Thou hath the Crown, which thou and thy Succeſſors ſhal enjoy peaceably, if all of you continue in my friendſhip, and the duty you owe me.* When he had ſpoke ſo, he left Lewis Gritti (ſon to Andrew, ſince Duke of Venice, by a Græcian concubine) in Hungary with ſome Cavallery, and ſo returned to Conſtantinople.

P. I wonder that Soliman having ſuffered ſo great loſſes in Auſtria, did not recompenſe them by the detention of Hungary: for I have heard that the Turk is not a ſlave to his promiſe.

G. Soliman did as theſe who break young horſes, he uſed this gentleneſs to tame the Hungarians: and he gave that to John, which he was afraid he could not well keep to himſelf. But then King John fearing with much reaſon, that the Grand Seigneur would weary of his ſuccours, and perceiving his affaires to be in a bad condition, he ſent to Vienne that ſame Laſco whom he had imployed at the Port. This active man procured a years truce; in which time, the edge of their animoſity being ſomewhat blunted, they came to an agreement; By which John was to enjoy the Kingdom to his death; after which, Ferdinand or one of his ſons ſhould ſucceed him. But becauſe it was not impoſſible but John might have children, it was provided, that if he had a ſon, that ſon ſhould

ſhould enjoy all theſe Lands and Caſtles which belonged to John before he was King of Hungary: And beſides all that, he ſhould be Prince of Tranſilvany. This treatie was ill obſerved. Ferdinand cauſed invade Tranſilvany, by Baltaſar Bamfy: Sclavony, by John Coatenerus, & the Province of Sebuſe, by Leonard Baron of Velts. But all theſe attempts were rendered vain by the prudence of King John, and the valor of George Martenuſias a Monk, and the Kings great favorite, commonly called, Frier George. And ſo they came to another accommodation. The calm which John enjoyed after he conjured away the tempeſt, gave him leaſure to think of his marriage: And for that effect ſends to Sigiſmund King of Pole, and demanded his daughter Iſabel or Eliſabeth for his wife. And having obtained her, the nuptials & coronation of the Queen were magnificently ſolemnized.

P. I believe King Ferdinand was not well pleaſed with a marriage from which might proceed an addition to his troubles, and an oppoſition to his pretentions: neither do I think Soliman could approve of the tranſaction which John made with Ferdinand, without his knowledge, or at leaſt without his conſent; in regard a vaſſal can innovate nothing of that he holds in fee, without the approbation of his Soveraign.

G. In this exigent, John was like to him that holds the wolf by the ears He ſaw well enough that he had reaſon to fear as much miſchief from Soliman, as from his Competitor, yet he conceived ſtronger hopes of a Chriſtian Prince, then of an Infidel: notwithſtanding whereof, we ſhal preſently ſee that his ſucceſſors

ſubmitted to the Turk, to preſerve a part of their dignity. Not long after King Johns marriage, Stephen Meylats and ſome others, take arms againſt him in favor of Ferdinand. John deſirous to quench the fire before it grew inextinguiſhable, leaves his Queen at Buda, and marcheth to Tranſilvany, where he eaſily received theſe in his favor who acknowledged their fault: which act of grace moved many to return to their duty. But Meylats ſhuts himſelf up in the ſtrong Caſtle of of Fogaras, to wait for the ſuccours which Ferdinand was to ſend him under the conduct of Nadaſdy. The King beſeegeth the Caſtle, and after a long ſiege, takes it. Mean time comes a Courrier, who brings him the glad tydings of the birth of a ſon whom God had given him. Such News uſeth to be very acceptable to theſe who have no children, eſpecially to ſuch who are ſtricken in years: You may eaſily imagine that John received them with an exceſs of joy, which he witneſſed by drinking (after the Hungarian manner) more then enough. This augmented his ſickneſs, which at Saſſebs ſent him to his grave a few days after his ſons birth, and in the fifty and third year of his own age. His death was kept quyet, as much as poſſibly might be done; but at length it was publiſhed with the tenor of his teſtament: by which he declared his ſon the univerſel heir of all his goods, and George Martenuſias, or Frier George, Tutor of the pupil Prince. Some days before he died, he exhorted the Nobility to have a regard to the honor of the Hungarian Nation. and to prefer his ſon to any ſtranger whatſoever, if they ſhould fall upon the election of a new King; aſſuring them

them that the grand Seignior would protect him, if they had their recourſe to him. The deſire of a dying King, and the jealouſie the Hungarians had of a ſtrangers domination, moved many of the great ones to ſet the Crown upon the head of the Infant, the very day of his Baptiſm, and to ſend to the Port to beg Solimans protection.

P. Hungary is moſt misfortunate, yet little or no miſchief hath come upon it, which it hath not deſerved. What an eternal ſhame was it for a Chriſtian King on his death bed, to exhort his Subjects to have recourſe to a Turk, to free his poſterity from that obligation himſelf had put upon it by a ſolemn Treaty? What inexcuſable folly was it in them to crown a Child, and thereby render him the object of the indignation of a powerful neighbor Prince? What inſupportable impiety was it, to run to an Infidel for ſhelter, before they knew, if he whom they feared, would exceed the bounds of Reaſon? Certainly, the Hungarians had lived more happily and quietly, if they had religiouſly obſerved the Treaties and Promiſes of their Kings, and the faithleſs Turk would have found ſtronger bars to his Ambition, if the Houſe of Auſtria had not been ſo much traverſed and croſſed in its juſt pretenſions.

G. When the ruine of great Eſtates approacheth, all things contributes to their deſtruction. Kingdoms that have changed Maſters, have been the principal framers of their own misfortune. The condition of Hungary was ſo depraved, that almoſt every one gloried to be inconſtant and perfidious: But let us follow the threed of our ſtory, that we

may come near our own times.

King Ferdinand having heard of his Competitors death, ſent Nicolas Count of Salms to the Queen Douager, to diſpoſe her to the obſervation of the Treaty which had been made between him and her husband, and willingly to grant that to reaſon, which ſhe would be conſtrained to yeeld to force; That ſhe and her ſon would find it a greater advantage to them to acquieſce to what the late King had concluded with mature deliberation, then to draw upon Hungary the miſchiefs and evils of an obſtinately ſought for war. That himſelf was ready to perform all he had promiſed, and to uſe her with favor more then ordinary. The Queens anſwer to the Earl was, that her ſexe, her age, and her grief, rendred her incapable to fall upon any reſolution in a buſineſs of ſo great importance, till ſhe had the advice of the King her Father; and therefore intreated Ferdinand to allow her ſome few months for that effect. That the Emperor Charles his Brother and Himſelf, would reap but little honor, to make war on a woman drowned in tears, and a Child ſwadled in his Craddle. This anſwer did not at all pleaſe Ferdinand, who immediatly ſent Leonard, Baron of Velts with an army to bring her to reaſon. The Queen in this extremity ſends Embaſſadors to the Port, who were well received by Soliman, and graciouſly diſpatched. They returned with an embroidered ſcarlet robe, a Mace of Iron, the Pommel of which was of Gold; a Shable, the ſheath whereof was ſet with precious ſtones, as tokens of his Amity and Protection. And at the ſame time, ordered all the Governors of the neighbor

neighbor places, to draw to the field without delay, to ſuccour the Queen. While theſe things are a doing, Laſco who had changed his Maſter and taken himſelf to Ferdinands ſervice, and was then his Embaſſador at Conſtantinople, demanded of the Sultan the Kingdom of Hungary, upon the ſame conditions which were granted before to John Zapolita: which propoſition did diſpleaſe the Turk ſo much, that he clapped the Embaſſador in priſon, and ſaid, he deſerved to die, for offering to mock him. Soliman having abſolutely refuſed Ferdinands demands, and ſending ſtrong ſupplys to Queen Iſabel, Hungary became the Theatre of moſt horrible confuſions; and was dyed with the promiſcuous blood of Germans, Turks and Hungarians. Rogendorff a new General of Ferdinands, beſeegeth Buda, This ſiege put Soliman on his way to raiſe it: But he might have ſaved himſelf the labor, for his forces had done the work before his arrival. Rogendorff having loſt twenty thouſand men, ſaved himſelf by flight. The Turk notwithſtanding keeps on his Journey, and being come near the City, ſends Preſents to the young King. But afterward, deſiring to have ſatisfaction for the great charge and trouble, he and his forces had been at, he deſired the Queen to ſend her ſon to him, aſſuring her, he demanded it for no other reaſon, then to oblige his children to love the young King more tenderly. At the ſame time his meſſengers had order to tell her, the cauſe why the Grand Seigneur did not give her ſelf a viſit, was, that he would not do any thing that might bring a blemiſh upon her reputation. The Queen returned

her humble thanks to the Sultan for his civility; but wavered in her reſolution, whether ſhe would ſend her ſon to him, or not. George Martinuſias told her, that ſhe neither might or could refuſe it. Overcome by invincible neceſſity, ſhe puts him in a craddle, worthy ſuch a child, and having commanded his Nurſe, and ſome other Matrones, and a great many Lords to accompany him, ſhe ſends him to the Turkiſh camp. Soliman to do him honor, cauſed meet him with a gallant troop of horſe, he looked upon him, embraced him, courted and dandled him, and cauſed his children do ſo alſo. And in the mean time cauſed ſeize one of the ports of the Town, by which his troops entered, and ſecured all the ſtreets of the city. Then were the Citizens commanded to deliver up all their arms, if they deſired to ſave their lives, which was inſtantly done without any noiſe. This being paſt, Soliman ſent back the young King to his mother, but keeped the Lords who had convoyed him. The Queen ſeeing her Town and Officers of State in the Turks power, laments, weeps and prays; but her lamentations, tears and prayers availed not, nor did hinder the Infidel to put it to the debate in his Divan, whether he ſhould keep the Kingdom of Hungary for himſelf, or reſtore it to the young King?

P. The great Turk is ſo abſolute and formidable to his ſubjects, that I preſume in his Councels, all ſpeak according to his humor and inclination.

G. It was not ſo here, for all the opinions (which were ſeveral) were well debated and conſidered; neither did Soliman fall upon the election of the moſt unreaſonable reſult. Mahomet and Uſtrofi, were of opinion,

opinion, that the Sultan ſhould carry the King to Conſtantinople, and with him the principal Hungarians: That he ſhould place a Governor in Buda, who uſing the people which loved liberty, with moderation and ſweetneſs, might bring them piece and piece, and by degrees, to receive the Ottoman yoak; and in the mean time, permit them to enjoy their goods. Ruſtan, Solimans ſon in law, gave a more honorable advice, perſwading him to keep his promiſe, wherein he was ſo deeply engaged: that the violation of it, could not but bring with it the irrecoverable loſs of his honor and reputation. But Iahaoglis Baſha of Belgrade, void both of honeſty and humanity, adviſed his Maſter, to rid himſelf, once for all, of the neceſſity to come ſo often and ſo far to relieve a woman and a child. He repreſented to him the impoſſibility, the mother and her ſon would meet with, to reſiſt the Germans without the forces of his Highneſs, and conſequently his troubles ſhould be endleſs. He deſired him to remember, that within theſe twenty years, he had marched into Hungary five ſeveral times, to his infinite charges and hazard of his perſon. The firſt time, to reduce Belgrade to his obedience, which before was a den of thieves. The ſecond, to revenge an affront done to his Embaſſadors, to which he ſacrificed King Lewis, and that then he had given with a prodigious prodigality, the Kingdom to a perſon, who was conſiderable for nothing, but for the miſchief he had done to the Ottoman armies. The third to ſuccour the ſaid King againſt Ferdinand of Auſtria, and at the ſaid time he had ſhaken and waſted Germany by the ſiege of Vienne; and by his

roads

roads and cavalcades, which brought threeſcore thouſand Chriſtians to chains and fetters. The fourth, in regard his Highneſs retreat had encouraged the ſame Ferdinand to attack King John, with hopes to wreſt his Kingdom from him, he was forced to return and relieve him. And the fifth time, for theſe affairs concerning which the preſent queſtion was. This Baſha who had been preſent at all theſe expeditions, did exaggerate the evils that his maſter had endured, the great and vaſt waſte of treaſure, the great and many perſons he had loſt, and the obligation he had laid upon himſelf, to neglect all his other affairs for this alone. And concluded, that war being only made to procure the means to live in peace, the Sultan ſhould reduce into a Province, a Kingdom which he had ſo often taken and defended. He ſhould ſend the Queen to her father Sigiſmond King of Pole. He ſhould carry the child to Conſtantinople to be bred in the Mahometan Law. He ſhould put the whole Nobility to the ſword, and raze all their forts and ſtrong holds; tranſport a number of families to Aſia, and keep the reſt in ſubjection with ſufficient guarriſons.

P. This laſt ſpoke like a true Turk, for they are all cruel and mercileſs, and ſworn enemies to Chriſtians.

G. Jahaoglis adviſed nothing, but what Soliman might have done, and what many of his predeceſſors would have done, in the like occaſion. But he reſolved for all that to uſe greater moderation. He left a ſtrong guarriſon in Buda, intreating the Queen to be ſatisfied with what he did, and to retire her ſelf with her

her ſon to Lippa, and reign over Tranſilvany, in the neighborhood of her father the King of Poles Dominions. And gave her aſſurance of the affection he would ever keep for her ſon: He ordered ſome troops of his own guards to convoy her, and cauſed furniſh her with waggons, chariots and beaſts for carriage, to tranſport all the moveables ſhe had. The Queen perceiving the neceſſity of her departure, endeavored to ſeem willing to go from a place, where it was not in her power to ſtay longer. Some noblemen of the Countrey followed her joyfully, as if they had been delivered out of priſon. The Tranſilvanians ſwore fealty to their young Prince, with the Turks conſent. And remembring, that his father John had governed them mildly, and with much moderation the ſpace of thirty years; they promiſed to the ſon a perfect obedience, without conſtraint. The affairs of Hungary being in this condition, King Ferdinand would gladly have appeaſed the Turk, whom he much apprehended; and for that purpoſe, he directed Preſents to him worthy of him who ſent them, and of him who was to receive them. There was beſides other things, a great cup of pure gold, enriched with precious ſtones, and an horologe of ſilver, of an admirable workmanſhip. It was a globe, which before had honored the Cabinet of Maximilian Ferdinands grand-father. It ſhew, beſides the hours, the courſe of the Planets, with the diſtance of the Sun and Moon, imitating the fabrick of the world, as far as art could reach. And the motion of all did not terminate, till a whole year went about.

P. Did theſe Preſents produce any good effects?

Or

or did they acquire to Ferdinand the tranquillity he hoped for?

G. Soliman was extreamly well pleaſed with the globe, and looked upon it with much delight as one who had ſome skill in Aſtronomy, but it did not oblige him to repay any civility. Ferdinands Embaſſadors demanded the Kingdom of Hungary, upon theſe conditions, which were granted formerly to John Zapoliha. Which being very honorable for Soliman, and advantageous to his Eſtates, there were ſtrong appearances he ſhould have granted them: But the contrare appeared by the anſwer delivered to them, out of Ruſtan Baſha's own mouth, which was this; That his Highneſs would grant peace to their Maſter, upon theſe termes, that he ſhould deliver up all theſe places which appertained to Lewis the ſecond: That henceforward, he ſhould not come near the Frontiers of Hungary. That the Houſe of Auſtria ſhould be obliged, to pay Soliman ſuch a tribute, as he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe, to preſerve the honor of the Ottoman Majeſty, which notwithſtanding ſhould be but a ſmall one, in compariſon of the great pains and travel the Grand Seigneur had taken, and the immenſe charges he had been at in the war. And if theſe conditions ſeemed heavy to Ferdinand, then Soliman would make uſe of his power to force him to that accommodation. After this final anſwer, the Turk returned to Conſtantinople, having firſt waſted and ſpoiled ſome Provinces. This proud and imperious procedure of Soliman, was looked upon at Vienne, as a Declaration of the war. And therefore, Ferdinand appoints three

three Generals, to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy, and made application to George Martinuſias, who refuſed not to ſerve him. This Monk whom King John had choſen to be Tutor to his ſon, prime Miniſter of Eſtate, and Director of all his revenues, intending to tyrannize over his Maſter, and the Queen his Mother, had conſtantly more ſtrings to his bow, then one. And whatever he promiſed either to the Queen, to the Turk, or the King of the Romans, it was only to ſerve himſelf with the one of them againſt the other, and in the mean time, by his dexterity, to keep the abſolute power of the Government to himſelf. Such was the ambition of this petty gentleman, who from a contemptible and underling-domeſtick of John Zapoliha's Mother, came to be a Monk, from an ignorant Monk, to be King Johns ſervant, and then Biſhop of Varadine, and firſt Miniſter of Eſtate, and could now ſuffer no equal. He poſſeſſed the Queen with fears, that he would do her ſelf a bad office, and dethrone her ſon. The juſt apprehenſion of this danger, moved Queen Iſabel to repreſent to Soliman, that the proud Monk had demanded aſſiſtance of King Ferdinand, to bring about the deſign he had to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Throne, by the ſuppreſſion, and perhaps the death of her ſon. Martenuſias on the other hand, repreſents to Ferdinand; that having had infinite obligations to the late King John, he could in gratitude do no leſs, then employ all his power to procure the ſtanding, welfare, honor and utility of the ſon of ſo deſerving a father. But that the quality of a Prelate did oblige him much more to have an eye to the preſervation of Chriſten-

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dom. That he had to do with a fearful woman, who upon the leaſt ſuſpicion, would not miſs to implore the Turks ſuccours. And if the Government were not taken out of her hands, then undoubtedly Tranſilvany would fall in the Turks hands. To obviate which, he intreated Ferdinand to offer the Queen a recompence to yeeld up her Eſtates: and he conceived it would be prudently done, to offer to her ſon, all theſe advantages which were offered to his father. Ferdinand, who knew Martenuſias well enough, made no doubt, but that he intended to cheat him; for all that, he reſolves to make his profit of the Monks craftineſs. And therefore, making fair weather with him, he praiſed his Chriſtian zeal, and conjured him to perſevere in ſo laudable an intention, ſends him ſome Canon, and a thouſand Horſe payed for four moneths. Things tending thus to a change, every one of the parties endeavored to make his advantage of the preſent conjuncture of affairs: Ferdinand acquaints his brother the Emperor with all that paſſed, and of the hopes he had to be a gainer, if he would be pleaſed to aſſiſt him with his counſel and his forces. Charles reliſheth the propoſition, and ſends to his brother, John Baptiſta Caſtaldo, a Spaniard, a prudent and valiant gentleman, whom he might intruſt with the conduct of the whole deſign. Queen Iſabel of Iagello, who knew and apprehended the practiſes of Martenuſias, called a convocation of the Eſtates of the Countrey, to gain the good will of the Nobility; thinking by this mean to preſerve to her ſelf and her ſon, that rank and dignity which belonged to them. The Monk fearing the

Eſtates

Eſtates ſhould fall upon ſome reſolutions, which might diminiſh his greatneſs, makes all poſſible haſte to Agnabet, where the Dyet was aſſembled, breaks it up, forceth the Queen to retire to Alba Julia, and commenceth the war againſt his Maſter. While this is a doing, Caſtaldo arrives at Claudiopolis, which the Hungarians call Caleſvar, and the Germans, Clauſemburg: from whence, in order to his inſtructions, he intreats Martenuſias to perform what he had promiſed to King Ferdinand. This Prelate then knowing the Queens fears, went and payed her a viſit, ſhew her her eſcapes, and exhorted her to an accommodation with Ferdinand, to which ſhe conſents. To this effect, the Tranſilvanian Eſtates are convocated at Claudiopolis, where Don Caſtaldo lets them ſee the Commiſſion he had to treat with the Queen. He endeavored to make it appear to her, that it was purely impoſſible for her and her ſon to defend Tranſilvany againſt the Turk. That for the good of Chriſtendom, it would be expedient, perhaps neceſſare for them both, to make a reſignation of it to the King of the Romans. And in lieu thereof, he promiſeth to John Sigiſmund, the two Dutchies of Opeln and Ratibore, the revenue whereof extended to five and twenty thouſand ducats a year, and Joanne the daughter of Ferdinand, with an hundred thouſand crowns of portion, and to the Queen fifty thouſand crowns, with the payment of all her debts. This was Caſtaldo's proffer.

P. When I conſider Tranſilvany, I think this compenſation was very inſignificant: yet it may be thought conſiderable enough, in regard by the renunciation,

nunciation, the Queen and her ſon did fairly rid themſelves of an inevitable neceſſity to make war, either with the great Turk, or the Houſe of Auſtria: and the ſexe of Iſabel, and the non-age of John Sigiſmund rendered them both incapable for that. But did the Queen accept the proffers?

G. This couragious and prudent Princeſs being exceedingly deſirous to free her ſelf from the yoke of Martenuſias, acquieſced to what Ferdinand had offered, and inſtantly delivered up all the Royal Ornaments to Caſtaldo, and intreated that Spaniſh Lord to move the King of the Romans to perform without delay that which was promiſed on his part, and immediatly retired her ſelf to Caſſovia, which was given her for a retreat, till the entiere execution of the Treaty. Caſtaldo having now the Hungarian Crown in his hands, believed they ſhould all acknowledge his Maſter for King, and therefore deſired the Tranſilvanians to take the oath of fidelity to King Ferdinand, who unanimouſly did it, after George Martenuſias, who by the bargain had got the Arch-Biſhoprick of Strigonium, and a Cardinals hat, procured by the King of the Romans. The matter having paſſed ſo, each party prepared for war, the Hungarian well knowing the Turk would not ſo eaſily ſuffer a Province which had acknowledged his Soveraignty, to fall in the hands of another without his conſent. The event made it appear they had made a right conjecture: for he enters Tranſilvany with an army, but made a ſory progreſs, ſo long as Martenuſias lived, or that the Queen had any hopes that Ferdinand would obſerve the agreement ſhe had made with him. As

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to Frier George, it was obſerved he deſired to ſerve the Chriſtians, without giving too much occaſion of offence to the Turk; for at the ſurrender of Lippa to Caſtaldo, he ſaved Ulmani Bey, whom they reſolved to cut in pieces; and protected within his Caſtle of Vivaria, him who received the tribute which Tranſilvany payed to Soliman. Theſe actions coſt him his life; for Caſtaldo having entred in a deep diſtruſt of him got Mark-Antony Ferrero his Secretary (who becauſe of his charge had frequent acceſs to him) to ſtob him with a dagger. Sultan Soliman being informed of the death of Martenuſias, and of the oath the Tranſilvanians had made to the King of the Romans, commanded Stephen Prince of Moldavia, the Governor of Buda, and ſome other neighboring vaſſals of his, to take arms, and fall upon them. This order was no ſooner iſſued out of the Port, but it was put in execution. And Tranſilvany in a ſhort time had reaſon to ſay, that the death of one Tyrant had not delivered it from ſlavery. Mean time Queen Iſabel ſeeing ſhe could not obtain the performance of the promiſes were made to her, prayed the Grand Seigneur once more to have pitty of her ſon. Soliman either moved with compaſſion of the widow Queen, or touched with his own intereſts, aſſiſts her powerfully, and reduceth the Tranſilvanians to that neceſſity, that they implored Ferdinand to permit them to treat with Soliman in favor of John Sigiſmund. Ferdinand, though much againſt his will, gave his conſent. And they obtained for their Prince, that ſame favor that was granted to John Zapoliha his father, for theſe ſubmiſions, duties and tribute that it ſhould pleaſe

Soliman to impoſe on him. This fell out in the year 1551. The Queen having entred in repoſſeſſion of her Eſtates, her brother Sigiſmund Auguſt mediated another treaty between Ferdinand and her. By it ſhe obtained more advantagious conditions then by the former one. Her ſon ſhould eſpouſe Joanne the daughter of Ferdinand, and enjoy for ever in Soveraignty for himſelf and his heirs, Tranſilvany, the County of Abavivar, Muran, Huzth, Marmet, and a part of the revenue of the territories of Ceregh, and of Ugocha.

P. I am of the opinion few Countreys are to be found which have changed their Maſters ſo oft as Tranſilvany. And I know not if I be obliged to believe, that a King of the Romans, brother to one of the puiſſanteſt Emperors that ever reigned in Germany, and father of ſo many children, ſhould put on a reſolution to part with a Principality, which he had acquired, partly by conſent, partly by right, and partly by force.

G. I know that Potentats do not give away willingly that which they have gained. It is notwithſtanding true, that Ferdinand gave up that Soveraignty whereof we ſpeak, and that he permitted John Sigiſmund to do what he pleaſed in Tranſilvany, except the aſſuming the tittle of King. Yea, the buſineſs was carried on a greater length, for this Tranſilvanian ſupported by the Turks forces, demanded that the Danube ſhould divide Hungary and Tranſilvany, and that the Kingdom of Hungary ſhould be entailled to him and his ſucceſſors, in caſe the maſculine line of the Auſtrian family ſhould chance to be extinct. This inſolent demand vexed Ferdinand: he takes armes,

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and conſtrained the Tranſilvanian Prince to be contented, that the river Tebiſcus ſhould be the utmoſt bound of his Eſtates. This agreement diſpleaſed either Sigiſmund, or the Great Turk, who prompted him to act, becauſe he might not enter publickly on the ſtage himſelf, in regard of a truce he had made with Ferdinand for eight years. Hereupon John Sigiſmund denounceth war againſt Maximilian the ſecond, who ſucceeded his father Ferdinand, and took Zackwar, Hudad and Corazzo, and had taken Caſſovia alſo, if the rigor of the Winter ſeaſon had not hindered him. But theſe victories were ſhort lived. Maximilian grievouſly offended with theſe inſolencies, takes armes, and attacks him vigorouſly, regains what he had loſt, and forces his enemy to a Peace Soliman being returned from Malta, where fortune had not favored him, begins a new war in Hungary, where he dies at the ſiege of Zigeth, which was ſurrendered to Baſha Muſtafa, his Lieutenant General, the 7 of September 1566. Selimus who ſucceeded to his father, made a truce with the Hungarians for eight years, and in it comprehended the Tranſilvanian, who by the recommendation of his Uncle Sigiſmund Auguſt King of Pole, got an addition to his Dominions, of ſome Territories which the Emperor yeelded to him, and the town of Guila, which he bought from the Turk, in the year 1568. John Sigiſmund perceiving the dy of war run favorably for him, offered to corrupt ſome Hungarians, to carry on his deſigns with more advantage in that Kingdom. But his endeavors and practiſes dyed with himſelf in the year 1570, and in the thirty and third year of his age: And

in him, and with him, ended the race of Zapoliha. He had choſen Gaſpar Bekez for his ſucceſſor, but he was rejected by the Grandees, who put in his place Stephen Battori, on the 14. of May 1571. This Prince acknowledged the Grand Seigneur for his Soveraign, as his Predeceſſor had done. And being elected King of Pole, after the retreat of Henry of Valois, he made it appear that vertue and fortune are not incompatible in one and the ſame ſubject. This brave Gentleman was within a very few years, a Baron, a Prince, and a King, and eminently worthy of the higheſt of theſe degrees. Being choſen King of Polen, he delivered up Tranſilvany to his brother Chriſtopher Battori; who not finding the Houſe of Auſtria favorable to him, becauſe his brother Stephen in the election of Pole, was preferred to Maximilian the ſecond, was forced to ſeek ſupport at Conſtantinople. This was a moſt vertuous Prince, who having ſuppreſſed the boldneſs of Bekez, who endeavored to ſupplant him, reigned glorioufly till his death which put him in his grave 1581. To him ſucceeded his ſon Sigiſmund, being yet a child. Stephen Battori his Uncle, King of Pole, having appointed him three Tutors, ſowed jealouſie amongſt them, which gave him ſhortly occaſion to thruſt them all three out, and to put the perſon and affairs of his Nephew in the hands of John Geczi, Governor of Varadin. This was a gallant and an orderly Gentleman, who quickly made himſelf known to be a man of courage as well as conduct. Scarce had he laid his hands on the reins of the Government of his pupils Eſtate, when King Stephen dyes in the year 1586. The powerful factions which ban-

bandied one againſt another in Pole for the election of a new King, gave Geczi an opportunity to ſhow what worth was in him. He joyned his forces with theſe of Samoisky, who favored Sigiſmund of Sweden againſt Maximilian of Auſtria, his Competitor, who was beaten, taken, and forced to quite his pretenſions to the Swed. In the mean time, the Turk made a fierce war in Hungary againſt the Emperor Rodolp the ſecond. And though the Officers and Commanders of his Imperial Majeſties forces were men of ſufficient worth, and gallantery, who ſold to the Sultan all the victories he obtained at a very dear rate, yet in the year 1595. Sinan Baſha Lieutenant General to Selimus, reduced to his obedience the admirable fort of Javarin, at that time deemed impregnable.

P. I have heard ſay that *S*inan vaunted, that he had brought the Emperor Rodolph to the neceſſity to beg Peace, by the loſs of that wonderful ſtrength. But *S*anſovia ſaith, that *S*inan loſt there fifty thouſand men, and that a little after the war began again hotter then ever.

G. The Emperor had too much courage to ſeek Peace after ſo conſiderable a loſs: He knew he could obtain none, but that which would have been exceeding diſadvantageous: and for that reaſon he reſolved to continue the war, and ſo ſought the help of all thoſe who were able to give it; and got *S*igiſmund Battori Prince of Tranſilvany, to be of his party. This Prince was eaſily moved to be pertaker of ſo noble a deſign, becauſe he was a perſon of a great ſpirit and courage; as alſo, becauſe he thought it a ſhameful thing for a Chriſtian to joyn with theſe who aimed at nothing ſo

much as the entire ſubverſion of Chriſtianity. He concluded therefore a Treaty with the Emperor, whereof theſe were the principal Articles.

That *Sigiſmund* taking arms againſt the Turk, it ſhould not be permitted to the Emperor to make Peace without him. And if the matter ſhould come to an accommodation, the Principalities of Valachia, Moldavia, and Tranſilvania, ſhould be comprehended in the Treaty. That *Sigiſmund* ſhould enjoy the name, the honors and prerogatives of a Prince of the Empire. That an honorable rank amongſt them ſhould be aſſigned to him. That the Emperor ſhould give him a Princeſs of the Houſe of Auſtria, for his Conſort. That as long as the war laſted, the Emperor ſhould furniſh him every year one hundred thouſand florins of the Rhine, which will amount to thirty and three thouſand pounds ſterlin. And ſhould entertain to him a good Body of Germane horſe and foot. That all theſe places that Sigiſmond ſhould take in the war ſhould remain in propriety to him, and theſe that ſhould be of his iſſue, of both ſexes. That if the miſchance ſhould fall out, that the Turk ſhould by force of arms expell him his Dominions of Tranſilvany, the Emperor ſhould be obliged to aſſign him as many Lands within the Empire, as ſhould be ſufficient to entertain him like a Prince. That there ſhould a general act of oblivion paſs for him, and all thoſe who had ſerved under the Turks Banner, againſt his Imperial Majeſty. That the Prince ſhould enter in poſſeſſion of all theſe Lands which he enjoyed before in Illyria and Hungary. That the Emperor ſhould provide him with canon, powder, & other munitions

of

of war. That the Tranſilvanian ſhould take the field with fourſcore thouſand fighting men, Valachians, Moldavians, and Tranſilvanians.

This agreement was ſealed with the marriage of Prince Sigiſmund, with Mary Chriſtine daughter of Charles Arch-Duke of Grats, with the Order of the Golden Fleece, which Philip the ſecond of Spain ſent to him. By Pope Clement the eight's preſent of a Hallowed Hat and ſword, and by a great maſs of moneys, which was ſent to him from ſeveral places of Chriſtendom. This League did much ſatisfie many great Potentats; but did ſo diſpleaſe and exaſperate Sultan Amurath, the Princes of Sigiſmunds own family, and the greateſt part of the Tranſilvanians, that preſently followed terrible invaſions, troubles, and murthers. Upon which, the Prince called theſe Nobles to him, who he knew to be affectionate to his perſon and intereſts; and having all his thoughts taken up with the meditation of horrible revenges againſt his kinſmen, and the Great Men of Tranſilvany, he ſummoned his Eſtates to meet at Claudiopolis. There it was that he put to death Balthaſar Battori his Uncle, and many other Lords, and declared them guilty of rebellion, and leze Majeſty: and amongſt the firſt, Stephen and Andro Battori, his couſin germans, the ſons of Balthaſar. At the ſame time, Sigiſmund thinking he had extinguiſhed the fire of the Rebellion, cauſed publiſh thorow all his Territories, the League which he had made with the Emperor againſt the Ottoman family; and exhorted and commanded all his ſubjects to take arms, to deliver themſelves from the tyranny and ſlavery, under which they had ſo long

groaned. A few days after, he brought fifty thouſand men in arms; and having provided them with ſufficient and able Officers, he advanced with them towards the Danube, to act the firſt part of the Tragedy. Now he is in the fields, Fortune ſides with him; he takes ſeven ſhips loaden with ſilver, and other rich merchandiſes, which Sinan Baſha was to employ to corrupt the Officers of Vienne, to betray it to his Maſter the Grand Seigneur. This good luck put Sigiſmund in a capacity to beſeege Themiſwar. But he had ſcarce begun to attack it, when he receives intelligence, that the Tartars were waſting and making havock of his Territories and ſubjects, which called to him for their defence. Having raiſed his ſiege, he marcheth againſt them, but finding them lodged in an inacceſſible place, where valor could not avail him, he hath recours to policy: he fires theirs quarters, and having ſmoaked them out, gives them a total overthrow, without any difficulty, and with no conſiderable loſs on his ſide.

P. Thus far Prince Sigiſmund Battori was fortunate and gallant, and if it were not, that the death of his Uncle, and ſome other Tranſilvanian Lords, ſeem to argue him of ſome cruelty; I ſee not wherein his conduct can be blamed. I would gladly know, if fortune accompanied him to his grave, and if he left any children behind him to inherite his vertue and Eſtates?

G. I come ſoftly to that ye deſire to know: The Valachians and Moldavians admiring the Tranſilvanians victories, would gladly ſhare with them; and therefore, make a conjunction of their forces. Sultan Amurath

Amurath ſeeing that his loſſes occaſioned this revolt, endeavored to ſet his affairs in better order, and to that effect, commands the Baſha of Themiſwar to attack the rebells, and make them feel the rigor of fire and ſword. The Baſha takes the field, but is defeated by Prince Sigiſmund towards the latter end of the year 1594. This victory of the Prince was ſeconded by another, which he obtained by the overthrow of twenty thouſand Tartars, who were returning home loaden with ſpoil and booty. About that time died Amurath the ſecond, leaving Mahomet the third to ſucceed him; who coming to the Crown about thirty years of age, gave great largeſſes to his Janizaries, and made huge preparations for the war againſt the Chriſtians. And underſtanding, that the Coſſacks and Podolians had entered in League with the Tranſilvanians; he ſent an Army of one hundred thouſand Turks, under the command of Sinan, whom he commanded to chaſtiſe theſe rebels exemplarly. Sinan prepares himſelf to give a full obedience to the commands of his imperious Maſter; and while he ſtudies to gain friends in Moldavia, he gathers a formidable Army for the execution of his deſign. But all his preparations came to nought by the induſtrious vigilance of Sigiſmund, who brought up Sinans rear ſo cloſe, that as he repaſſed the Danube, the bridge overcharged with numbers of flying Turks, broke, and Sinan falling himſelf in the river, was in danger to have born company with an infinite number of his Army who were there drowned This great action joyned to many more, in all which, the prudence, valor, conduct and

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good fortune of Prince Sigiſmund appeared to admiration, acquired him the name of Invincible: And forced Sultan Mahomet to take upon himſelf the conduct of his Army. You might ſee him then in the field in perſon with two hundred thouſand fighting men, and theſe dreadful forces gave him the confidence to advance as far as Agria. There it was that the Arch-Duke Maximilian and Prince Sigiſmund, by the cuſtom they had gotten to overcome, contemning the Turks great numbers, gave him battel; which had in all appearance bettered the condition of Chriſtendom, if the infamous deſire of ſpoil and booty had not made victory, which hovered over the Chriſtian Army, take wings and fly to the Infidels. We loſt twenty thouſand men, and the Turk a great many more: but after that time, it ſeemed that fortune, which had gone hand in hand with Prince Sigiſmund, turned her back upon him; for forgetting his former valor and magnanimity, he reſolved to make an exchange of his Tranſilvanian Principality, with ſome Territories in Sileſia. And to come the better to his purpoſe, he brought as many of his forces together as poſſibly he could, to make his laſt attempt. He layes ſiege to Themiſwar, and was forced to raiſe it, as he had done before: Not long after, Ibrahim Baſha beſeegeth Varadin. Baſta the Emperors Lieutenant General intreats Sigiſmund for the relief of it, to joyn his forces with theſe over which he commanded, which he promiſed to do, but proved not a man of his word. After that there was nothing to be ſeen in him, but irreſolution and unconſtancy. He cauſed proclaim his Couſine Cardinal

dinal Battori, Prince of Tranſilvany; but not being able to maintain him in it, he reſigned to the Emperor Rodolph all his Eſtates, who gave him the Dutchies of Ratibore and Opeln for his life time, with a yearly penſion of fifty thouſand Crowns, and a Cardinals Hat, which the Emperor promiſed to procure to him from the Pope.

P. I thought the Tranſilvanian Prince had been married, and you ſay, he ſought to be a Cardinal.

G. I told you before, that Sigiſmund Battori, Prince of Tranſilvany was married to Mary Chriſtine of Auſtria, but being as great a coward in the rencounters of Venus, as he was brave in thoſe of Mars, he declared himſelf to be impotent, and ſo his marriage was declared null. But I have not yet told you, that after infinite miſeries, which his change procured to Tranſilvania, Valachia and Moldavia, reſigned by him to Rodolph: and after that he had repented himſelf of that folly, and given ſufficient teſtimonies of his unconſtancy, he died at Prague the 17. of March 1603.

His death did not at all confirm the poſſeſſion of his Eſtates to the Emperor, for the Turk never wanted theſe who practiſed for him in the Countrey; and the people believing, that their liberty was infringed by the agreement made between the Emperor Rodolp, and their late Prince, there was not any content with his preſent condition: George Baſta, the Emperors Lieutenant General tyrannized over the Countrey. The Turks, the Tartars the Polonians had made Tranſilvany the theatre of a long and bloody tragedy; ſo that the people longed and breathed

breathed for nothing ſo much, as for their former condition. In end, Stephen Boskay, having chaced away the Decemvirate which the Emperor had entruſted with the Government, eſtabliſhed himſelf into it more by the good will of the people, and by theſe faults and diſorders which the Emperors Generals committed, then by his own proper forces. The commonalities complained grievouſly of the Inquiſition, of the inſolence of ſtrangers, and of the abrogation of their ancient priviledges and immunities. Boskay fomented the diſcontents, and by aggravating the faults of the Government, he took a powerful and deep footing in the poſſeſſion of the Principality. For this cauſe Gabriel Bethlem (to whom the Turk had given hopes of the province) ſeing it was not time for him to have ſuch thoughts, ſubmitted himſelf to Boskay. But in the mean time, joyning himſelf with Bechtes, Baſha of Themiſwar, endeavored to ſurpriſe Lippa, but was near ſurpriſed himſelf, and forced to fly in his ſhirt; fear made him forget his breeches behind him, and in them the treaty of his conſpiracy. This paper coming to the hands of Count Belljoyoſo, put a flea in his ear, and ſeeking for a remedy for this diſeaſe, he found it to be incurable. In fine, Boskay loſt no time; he beats Beljoyoſo and reduceth him to a great extreamity; and puts himſelf in poſſeſſiou of many places: And having the favor of the Nobility, the Towns and the Commons; he found himſelf in a condition to ſpeak like a Maſter. But fortune, who delights to make her ſelf to be admired, turned ſuddenly on Baſta's ſide, who having obtained ſome victories, exhorted Boſkay

kay to lay down Arms, and ſubmit himſelf to the Imperial yoak. But he who pretended to no leſs then the whole Principality, made anſwer. That if they ſuffered him not to enjoy Tranſilvany; if they did not place Hungarians to be Governors of the Provinces and Towns, if they did not ſend their militia of ſtrangers ſume where elſe, if they did not permit the free exerciſe of his Religion: He was reſolved to prefer war to peace. Fortune who is frequently a friend to raſhneſs, takes Boskays part, and made him ſurmount all the difficulties he rencountered with in this war. Baſta, who moſt oppoſed him, ſaw his victories followed with an intire diſobedience: his ſojors mutines, and tells him, he payed them with nothing but words. They ſet upon him in his lodging, and theſe who were appointed to be a guard to nine and twenty waggons loaden with money, cloath and other things robbed them, and went away; ſome to Pole, and others to the Enemy: Tranſilvany being delivered of the fear of Baſtas Army, many of the hundred towns of it were taken by Boskays friends, the reſt rendered themſelves to him before they were ſummoned. This progreſs of Boskay forced the Emperor to ſend Demetrius Nabradi, Biſhop of Veſprin, and Sigiſmund Forgas to treat with him. Theſe Deputies found that proſperity had made him inſolent; all the anſwer they got from him was, That if they had come from the Nobility of Hungary, they ſhould have been very welcome; but if they came from the Emperor, they might return, for he was ſo far advanced, that he could not retire. This language was ſo well underſtood by the Emperors deputies,

puties, that they knew they had no more to do there, and that Tranſilvany had changed its Maſter. And in effect, the Eſtates of the Province being aſſembled at Kerene, Boskay was confirmed in the uſurpation he made of the Principality: upon condition, that he granted a tolleration of the exerciſe of the Roman, Lutheran and Swiſſe Religions. Then under him, Sigiſmund Ragoski was made Governor of the Countrey, and Valentin Homanay General of the troops. The Grand Seigneur who had keeped a watchful eye upon all theſe commotions, ſent a Chiaux to Boskay, who preſented him with a Mace, a Shable, and a Cloath of State, to confirm him in the poſſeſſion of his new Principality. In acknowledgement of which favor, Boskay ſent to the Port Stephen Corlat, and George Kikedi, to aſſure the Turk of his fidelity, and to preſent him with the marks of his homage and obedience.

P. They ſay, this Embaſſie of Boskay was infamous, becauſe of the preſent his Deputies made to the Great Turk, of ſome Germane boys and girles.

G. Theſe who dare invade the Eſtates of another Prince, & ſacrifice to their ambition infinite numbers of mankind, feels no ſting of conſciẽce at all, to plunge ſome poor innocẽts in unredeemable ſlavery. Machiavel ſaith, *That men can hardly become perfectly & entirely wicked.* But Boskay gave him the ly; for having endeavored to take, and taken theſe places which gave lawful obedience to the Emperor, his wickedneſs and fellony went a greater length: for though he, and his party, did mask their Rebellion with the pretext of Religion, yet they made it no ſcruple of conſcience

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to accompany the Turk in his courſes and roads that he made in Moravia, where having put a world of poor Chriſtians to the ſword, he ſent four thouſand to the chain. Never was ſeen any zeal like that of theſe religious troops. They ſold to the Turks numbers of their Chriſtian brethren. And as their crime had no precedent, ſo that which followed on it, was an unheard-of prodigy. Blood was ſeen to run out of the gold that they received for the Chriſtians, which they had ſold to the Infidels. Theſe civilities & marks of friendſhip which Boskay payed to our common Enemy, were followed by an agreement between them. The Turk offered him the tittle of King of Hungary: but Boskay fearing a change of Fortune, refuſed the favor, alleadging the Emperor had been lawfully crowned. But by the accord, Boskay was made proprietare of Tranſilvany, and it made free for ten years of the tribute it uſed to pay formerly: and that time being expired, it was to ſend yearly ten thouſand duckats, in token of vaſſallage. Things paſſing ſo in Europe, the Baſha of Aleppo and Caramania, cut out ſome work for the Sultan in Aſia. For this reaſon, deſiring to be free of the obligation lay on him to aſſiſt Boskay, he gave him permiſſion to agree with the Emperor. On the other ſide, his Imperial Majeſty being weary of ſo long and chargeable a war, and perceiving that Boskay had no children, and therefore a change of the Government would quickly enſue, he agreed eaſily to all was deſired of him. The principal Articles of this Peace, were theſe: An act of oblivion to be paſſed on all ſides. That the Religions of Rome, Augsburgh and Switzerland,

ſhould

ſhould be tollerated through all Hungary. The Palatine of Hungary ſhould be elected by votes. That the Government of all places ſhould be given to Hungarians, except Comore and Javarin, which the Emperor might beſtow upon Germans. That all Tranſilvany, and that part of Hungary which belonged to Sigiſmund Battori, ſhould be given to Boskay, and that thereto ſhould be added Zacmar, Ugoc and Totkai, with Bereg. That endeavors ſhould be uſed to make Peace with the Turk: and if it could not be obtained, then Boskay ſhould joyn his forces with the Emperor againſt him. This treaty was approved and ſworn by the principal Lords of Hungary, Bohemia, Auſtria, Silelia, Moravia and Luſatia. Neither did any make difficulty to ſign it, except Melchior Cleſel, at that time Biſhop of Newſtadt, and ſince Cardinal; becauſe, ſaid he, no ſuccours ought to be given to an Heretick; yet at length he gave his conſent. This Peace was followed with a Truce of twenty years between the Emperor and the Turk. By this Accord, the Grand *Seigneur* was obliged to call the Emperor, Father, and the Emperor to give to the *Sultan*, the tittle of *Son*. They ſhould both be called Emperors. The controverſies that might in the future ariſe between them ſhould be determined by the Governors of Javarin, and of Buda. All forts and ſtrong holds ſhould continue as they were for the preſent: neither ſhould any new ones be built by either of the parties. The Emperor ſhould give to the Turk two hundred thouſand crowns at one time: And after that, they ſhould ſend preſents one to the other every third year, by their Embaſſadors, to continue the firmneſs

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of their friendſhip This Tranſaction was made in the year 1606. and followed by the ſickneſs and death of Boskay, who declared for his ſucceſſor Valantin Homonay, but the Eſtates of Tranſilvany preferred to him Sigiſmund Ragosky. But he loving his repoſe and quiet more then honor, refuſed the offer; But ſeeing it would be forced upon him, he accepted it with as much reluctancy, as he could have againſt an honorable ſlavery.

P. Though they ſay that Crowns are heavy, yet it falls out ſeldom that any refuſeth them; and if I be not deceived, the moderation of Ragoski was a ſure token, that he deſerved to govern.

G. There is no leſs glory in refuſing Crowns, then in endeavoring to deſerve them; and I avouch unto you, that if I did not know that this refuſal proceeded meerly out of contempt of honor, I ſhould ſay it proceeded from fear. The Emperor Rodolph repented he had agreed to the tolleration of more Religions then the Roman Catholick. The promiſes of the Perſian Embaſſador, with the rebellion of Gambolah, who had drawn on his ſide Aleppo, Damaſcus and Tripoli, made his reſolutions waver in order to the obſervance of the Treaties. This gave occaſion to the Hayducks to continue their inſolencies, and to the Arch Duke Matthias, to take arms to reduce them to obedience. Which being done, Matthias reſolves to purſue his deſign, ſo long as he was in a capacity to do it with an Army: which proved the ſtrongeſt Argument he could uſe to perſwade his brother Emperor Rodolph to reſign Hungary and Auſtria to him. Having then the power, he had not

the ſcruple that Rodolph had, but inſtantly ſigned the Treaty of Vienne, and added one article more to it, which was the expulſion of the Jeſuites out of Hungary, and received homage from Ragosky for his Principality: Shortly after, Ragosky gave an infallible demonſtration of his contempt of ſublunare greatneſs, for being in peaceable poſſeſſion of Tranſilvany, equally cheriſhed by Matthias and the Great Turk; he reſigned his Principality to Gabriel Battori, when he had reigned but one year. Achmet Emperor of Turky confirmed the Election, and Matthias did not oppoſe it. Battori was neither ſo moderate nor ſo modeſt, as Ragoski thought he ſhould have been; his inſatiable luſt rendered him inſupportable: and the honor of the moſt vertuous Matrons and Virgins, not being aſſured under the Domination of a Prince ſo horribly debauched, they conſpired againſt his life, and aſſaſſinated him in the year 1616. Bethlem Gabor, who had contributed much to his death, ſeized on his Eſtates; and to appeaſe Matthias, who was then Emperor, and Sultan Achmet, who were equally offended with him, he promiſed to the firſt a reaſonable obedience, and delivered ſome Places in the hands of the ſecond.

P. I believe, Gabor be very famous in the Hiſtory of our time, and that he gave no ſmall trouble to the Emperor Ferdinand the ſecond.

G. This Tranſilvanian, made it his ſtudy all his life to fiſh in troubled waters; but his fortune being much inferior to that of Ferdinand, at the long run he was forced to ſubmit to him: mean time, let

us ſee, how things went in theſe parts, during the reign of Ferdinand. This Arch Duke was the moſt zealous Catholick in the World, and one who could leaſt ſuffer the diverſity of Religions, which his predeceſſors had permitted in their Territories. His zeal and good fortune, moved his Couſine Mathias to prefer him to all the other Princes of his family. And intending the ſucceſſion of the Empire for him, he cauſed him to be acknowledged King of Hungary and Bohemia before he died. Ferdinand begins his reign with the oppreſſion of the Proteſtants, he cauſed ſhut up ſome of their Churches, and demoliſhed others in Bohemia; He recalled the Jeſuits to Hungary, and rejected all theſe articles which favored any other Religion, then the Roman Catholick, in all the Treaties that had been made by the former Emperors with the Hungarians and Bohemians. This action, which bred much evil blood in a Body formidable at that time, gave occaſion to the Bohemians to reject Ferdinand, and to elect Frederick Prince Palatine of the Rhine, to be their King. And Ferdinand was forced to ſee in a ſhort time the Bohemians and Hungarians before the wals of his capital City of Vienne. At the ſame time, Gabor cloaths himſelf (as all rebels do) with the pretext of Religion, and for the maintenance thereof, enters in a League with the Bohemians, and ſets an Army a foot of eighteen thouſand men, and eighteen pieces of canon, and with it enters Hungary; where finding mens ſpirits prepared for rebellion, his progreſs proved ſucceſsful, which furniſhed him with the confidence to proclaim himſelf King. At this

time, Ferdinand was at Franckfurt, where he was elected Emperor. This high dignity adminiſtred to him both authority and forces, neither did he think of any thing elſe, then ſhortly to recover the Kingdoms which he had well near loſt, and to humble thoſe, who durſt ſo inſolently attack him. He ſpoke loud of the wrong, diſhonor and injuſtice was done him: he remonſtrated to the Electors of the Empire, to the Kings of Great Britain, and France, the juſt right he had on his ſide to look for his own. He drew to his party all the Roman Catholicks of Germany, and the Elector of *Saxe* alſo, who was one of the great Pillars of the Proteſtants, and endeavored withal to keep the ſwords of ſtrangers within their ſheaths. Not long after, the Elector Palatine, whoſe forces were very conſiderable, was put to flight; Gabor made more reſiſtance, and had put the Emperors affairs in a bad enough condition, if his aſſociats had done their duty better at Prague. Count Dampiere General of the Imperialiſts loſt his life, viewing the Caſtle of Presburg, in which Gabor had put a garriſon: And Charles of Longueval, Count of Buckoy. having reduced Moravia to the Emperors obedience, and made a great progreſs in Hungary, died there, after he had received ſixteen wounds. The death of this great perſon gave means to Gabor to recover many places, to diſſipate thoſe who oppoſed his deſigns, and to over-run all the Countrey. But at length ſeeing his Confederates beaten, and his own forces ſcattered, he deſired peace, and obtained it in the year 1622, upon theſe conditions; That he ſhould retain all Tranſilvany, Tokai, Caſſovia,

ſovia, and ſeven other Lordſhips of Hungary. That he ſhould deliver up the Hungarian Crown, and all the other Towns that he keeped in that Kingdom. That he ſhould abſolutly quite the name of King, and content himſelf with the tittle of Prince of the Empire, with the Dutchies of Opeln and Ratibore, and that he ſhould re-poſſeſs the Jeſuites of theſe places they enjoyed before the war. This peace laſted not long. Gabor gives Vaczia to the Turk, who ſends him fourſcore thouſand men, which the Count of Torne had obtained for him. With theſe he once more invades Hungary, alledging the conditions of the Treaty of Odinburg were not keeped to him: That his Religion was oppreſſed, and that the money they owed him was not payed him. The Emperor deſirous to be at an end of this buſineſs, cauſed remonſtrate to the Grand Seigneur, that Gabor did but abuſe his authority and his forces; and that he was invaded by him without any reaſon. To his words Ferdinand added the powerful arguments of arms, and by them conſtraineth his enemy to an accommodation leſs advantageous then the firſt. By this Treaty in the year 1624, Gabor loſt the tittle of Prince of the Empire, and ſome of theſe Territories in Hungary, which had been granted him by the former Treaty. Shortly after, this reſtleſs ſpirit joyned his forces with theſe of Charles Erneſt Earl of Manſfield. But forty thouſand Tartars, who were coming to him, being defeated by the Polonians, he left him to go and take care of his own Eſtates. And having only for the ſpace of four years enjoyed the company of Catharine, Daughter of John Sigiſmund

Elector of Brandeburg, he died in the year 1628. having ſuffered incredible torment in his feet; and at his death he made it known that he honored the Emperor and the Turk equally, for he left to every one of them a horſe, whoſe Capariſon was garniſhed with rich ſtones, and forty thouſand ducats in ſpeces. He left to the Princeſs his wife one hundred thouſand pieces of Gold, every piece of the value of ten ſhillings ſterlin, one hundred thouſand dollars in ſilver, and one hundred thouſand Florins, and three Lordſhips, which ſhe was to enjoy during her life.

P. This Princeſs having above four ſcore thouſand pound ſterlin in coyned money, and Jewels ſutable to a perſonage of her quality, had enough to help a younger brother of a noble family; and it is probable, it was for that, that Francis Charles Duke of *Saxon* Lauemburg married her ſome years after the death of her firſt husband. But I would gladly know who ſucceeded to Bethlem Gabor, and what fell out in that Countrey after his death?

G. When the heir of a Principality is not certainly known, the death of the laſt Prince is ever followed with trouble; Princeſs Catharine, the widow of Gabor, not having learned the Art to reign, nominated Stephen Czac to be her husbands ſucceſſor, and intreated the Turk to confirm him. But this Election diſpleaſed all the Tranſilvanians, who divided in two factions, the one favoring *Stephen* Bethlem, the brother of their late Prince, and the other inclining to George Ragoski. The firſt was ſo misfortunate, that his own children roſe up againſt him: the ſecond having

having overcome all oppoſition, made an agreement with the Emperor, and gained the favor of the Turk, and ſo enjoyed Tranſilvany peaceably, yet his good fortune was not conſtant. Stephen Bethlem who had yeelded all his pretentions to him, chanced to kill one of his kinſmen; and fearing the puniſhment he deſerved, endeavored to ſhun it by a greater crime. He demanded aſſiſtance from the Port, from whence he received an army of Turks and Tartars, with which he beſeeged Giula. Ragoski deteſting the infidelity of the faithleſs Turk, ſubmits himſelf to the Houſe of Auſtria, who aſſiſted him with three Regiments of foot and one of horſe: with theſe and his own troops, he routed five and twenty thouſand Turks near Szabuta. At length Bethlem returning to his duty, was received in favor, and Ragoski confirmed in his Principality by the Sultan. While theſe things are a doing, Ferdinand the ſecond dies, and left his ſon Ferdinand the third his ſucceſſor to the Kingdom of Hungary, and all his other Eſtates. This Prince having a moſt dangerous war to mannage in Germany, was exceeding deſirous to preſerve peace in Hungary, yet it was broke by the advice of theſe who counſelled him to diſcharge the Lutherans the uſe of a Church they had at Presburg, and to revoke all he had promiſed in their favors. This ſtroke of State reliſhed not well with theſe Polititians, who thinks good actions loſe their price, when they are done unſeaſonably. There is nothing that more exaſperates mens minds, then the violence that is offered to their conſciences, and there are few things in the world which need more circumſpection, then

doth the work of reforming an Eſtate. The Lutherans of Presburgh, who could never endure the loſs of their Church, or recover it without the aſſiſtance of ſtrangers, call to Ragoski for help. This Prince fearing to embark without bisket, and to enter in a war, in which he could not rationally expect much aſſiſtance from the Turk, who was kept buſie in Aſia, prayed the Emperor, and his Concel, to perform what was promiſed to the Hungarians. But he received no ſatisfactory anſwer from the Emperor, who ſeemed to contemn both his prayers and his power. Therefore conceiving he was more obliged to his Religion, then to his Bene-factor, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by the Embaſſadors of the Confederates, who earneſtly ſollicited his alliance: And having denounced war to the Emperor, he entereth Hungary with ſeventy thouſand fighting men. And that the world might ſee he began not the war without reaſon, he declareth by his Maniſeſt, that ſince the year 1619. they had put Hungary in the number of the hereditary Provinces of the Houſe of Auſtria. That they gave theſe Offices to Church-men, which belonged to ſecular perſons. That the Proteſtants were thruſt out of all Charges; nor could their complaints be heard. And that againſt their wills, the Jeſuits were ſettled in the Countrey. Ragoski his firſt action was to waſte and ſpoil the territories of George Homonay: after which, he brought to his obedience all that reſiſted him, even to Caſſovia. It being taken, the Emperor deſirous to calm this ſtorm ſends againſt him the Count of Bouchaim, with an army of eight and twenty thouſand men; and with

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it was the Palatine of Hungary alſo. But not being able to regain Caſſovia, he hearkened gladly to a Peace. By the agreement, ſeven Lordſhips of Hungary were given to Ragoski: And to pleaſe him, fifty Churches were opened to the Proteſtants, wherein they might freely teach their doctrine, and the Hungarians reſtored to all their priviledges. This Treaty ſeemed diſadvantageous to the Catholicks; but it was more prejudicial to the Sweds: for the Emperor having picked this thorn out of his foot, ſent ſecours to Brin, and forced Torſtenſon to raiſe the ſiege he had laid to it. At which time, Lewis Count of Souches, a French Gentleman, and who had been the principal cauſe of the preſervation of the place, received the Govermẽt of it, for the recompẽſe of ſo ſignal a ſervice.

P. I can hardly believe that ſuch remarkable, and ſo frequent alterations are to be ſeen any where ſo much as in Hungary and Tranſilvany. And I admire, that a people which cannot almoſt ſtir without drawing into their Countrey either the Germans or the Turks, doth run ſo oft and ſo readily to arms.

G. Theſe Countreys breeds a very warlike people, & ſuch an one, as can hardly live in quyet: And their Princes very oft throw them in the fire, when they think to draw them out of the furnace, making their condition worſe, when they endeavor to make it better: whereof Ragoski hath given a demonſtration, when he eſpouſed the quarrel of the King of Sweden, and thereby equally diſobliged the Emperor and the Grand Seigneur. This Tranſilvanian being ambitious to have a ſhare of the glory and conqueſts of King Charles Guſtave, marched with very conſiderable forces

forces to Pole, and joyned with him. And not having done any great feats, was forced to return, either with much ſhame, or with very little reputation. But his misfortune did not ſtop with the loſs of his army, it purſued him further, and armed the Great Turk againſt him, and made him die in a battel, where with his life, he loſt his Principality, which he ſhould have left to his ſon. Some writes, that they were Chriſtians who ſtirred up the Turks hatred againſt him; and that that ſhould be one of the cauſes of the preſent war, and one of the trueſt too. Remin Janos, his Lieutenant General, endeavored to ſtep up to the Throne, in the room of his dead Maſter: and for that effect, ſubmitted himſelf to his Imperial Majeſty, ſought, and obtained his protection. But he was not able to preſerve theſe Eſtates, on which he had ſeaſed. Then it was that the Court of Vienne, endeavoring to ſave Janos, and not to offend the Ottomans, did neither the one, nor the other. Janos loſt his life in a conflict, and the Turk was very evil ſatisfied with the Emperor, who (as he ſaid) had contraveened the Truce which was between them. This miſ-underſtanding occaſioned a great alteration on both ſides, and procured ſeveral Embaſſies and Negotiations from one party to the other. The Sultan proteſted conſtantly, that he breathed nothing but the continuing the Peace; and his Miniſters complained modeſtly, that we were deſirous of war, which they intended not to make, unleſs neceſſity conſtrained them to it. While things ſtood thus, Nicolas Count of Serini, thinking the war was already at our doors, fancied it would be very advantageous for him to build a fort

a fort on both ſides of the river Mur; which he did, and began ſome acts of hoſtility. This Fort augmented the Turks complaints, who demanded the demolition of it by a Chiaux, and an Aga; whom I ſaw at Vienne in January 1662. Theſe demands obtained no favorable anſwer; and it ſeemed they were made to men who had no ears. And to ſpeak truth, ſeeing them put on a fierce reſolution to grant nothing to the Turk; I imagined, they ſought nothing but war; and that Serini's Fort was a place of that hie importance, that it was able alone to give work to many Ottoman armies; yet experience hath made us ſee, that it is worth nothing, and that we needed not to have engadged in a war of ſuch conſequence. I will not give my reaſons, becauſe any man may imagine them. It ſhal be enough for me to ſay, that the Imperial Court ſeeing the Turkiſh forces in Tranſilvany, and fearing to be taken napping, they ſent the Earles of Montecuculi and Souches, with two little bodies of armies, whereof a great part periſhed without any ſtroke of ſword, and without hindering either the loſs of Remin Janos, or the eſtabliſhment of Abafi. The Grand Seigneur then ſeeing Tranſilvany in his power, and that Abafi was firmly enough ſet in his ſaddle, and obliged to ſerve him, demanded the demolition of Serini's Fort, with greater inſtance then before; as alſo a reparation of the wrong which he alledged was done unto him. But the Court could not reſolve to grant his deſires: and therefore without further tergiverſation, he reſolves to do himſelf reaſon, and make a tryal if his firſt arms would prove as fortunate, as he hoped they ſhould. Then he began that war which

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he proſecutes yet with great vigor. and in which all Chriſtendom ſeems to concern it ſelf. I adjure you to conſider well all I have hitherto ſaid, and then (I doubt not) but you will be able to judge of the equity of the cauſe of both parties. We muſt now ſee in what manner the Turk attacked us in the year 1663. what forces we oppoſed to his, and that which both parties hath done ſince the beginning of the war, that ſo you may ſee what grounds we have, either for our hopes, or our fears.

P. I ſhould think, that his Imperial Majeſties intereſt ſhould have obliged him rather to have demoliſhed the Fort of Serini, and to have given the Sultan that ſatisfaction he demanded, then to have entered in a war againſt him, for both Hungary and the Empire ſtand much in need of Peace, and we ſee but little probability to wreſt Tranſilvany out of the Turks hands, which he hath ſeaſed upon with ſome appearance of Juſtice.

G. If it were permitted us to meaſure Counſels by their ſucceſſes, we ſhould have juſt reaſon to blame the reſolution was taken at Vienne. But I ſuppoſe the Court did believe, that theſe who ſate quyet with croſt armes all the time that our inteſtine bloody wars gave them a fair opportunity to attack the Empire, would not have the boldneſs to meaſure the length of their ſcimiters with our ſwords, now that we enjoy a wiſhed-for Peace. But we have ſeen the contrare; for Mahomet the fourth reſolved to begin the war by that rupture which he made, after he had kept us long in ſuſpence. For to ſpeak truth, I doubt not but all his Embaſſies, and the great ſhow he made of

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moderation, was done for nothing elſe but to amuſe us. Theſe who were ſagacious, and pierced deeper then the outſide of affaires, thought it hie time to make leavies. The ſtupideſt could ſay, we ought not to truſt theſe who had no faith. The Emperor ſeeing he would ſtand in need of help, ſought it: and the manner it was given, and received, was the only cauſe that he was not ready when the war was at his doors. The Confederates offered conſiderable troops which they had already on foot; but they would continue Maſters of them. His Majeſty thought it an affront to his Imperial dignity, to receive them upon that condition. The Empire making theſe ſame offers, and theſe ſame demands, rencountred with theſe ſame difficulties. Hence it came that the Grand Viſier having advanced to the higher Hungary, attaked Newheuſel, which the Hungarians call Vivar, defeated three thouſand men, who ſallied with intention to ſurpriſe ſome of his army, ſent the priſoners to Conſtantinople, as marks of his victory; and at length forced the guarriſon to render the Town upon articles, and triumphed not a little for the acquiſition of this ſtrong place, which gave him means to make his courſes to the ports of Vienne, and to waſte and harraſs the frontiers of Germany.

P. I have heard already of the loſs of Newheuſel, and of the Incurſions the Tartars made in Moravia; But I know not what you mean by the Confederates, or what difference you put between them and the Empire. Do me the favor to clear me in that, and then ye may ſpeak of our forces, and the exploits they did after the retreat of the Grand Viſier.

G. The Treaty of Munſter, which was concluded the 24. of October 1648. having given ſome Territories to the French, ſome to the *Swedes*, and others to ſome German Princes: All of theſe were afraid, the Houſe of Auſtria, and the Princes thereof might repent that they had bought peace, that they might attempt the recovery of theſe limbs of the Empire which the Treaty had cut from it, and that ſome others might redemand that which they had loſt. To obviate which conſiderable inconvenience, Cardinal Mazarin perſwaded thoſe who had any cauſe of fear, or who loved the quiet and peace of the Empire, to make a ſtrict union, whereby all of them ſhould be obliged to defend one another mutually, in caſe any of them ſhould chance to be moleſted in the poſſeſſion of that which the Treaty had adjudged to belong to him. Ten or twelve Princes, Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, and of all theſe Religions that are permitted within the Empire, entered in this League, twenty thouſand men, or thereby, being to be intertained by this League for their mutual defence, under the command of the Counts of *Solms* and Hollach; each of the Confederates were to contribute for their intertainmẽt, according to their ſeveral proportions. The Emperor extreamly diſpleaſed with this Confederacy, endeavored to diſſolve it; but not being able to do that, he reſolved to make his profit by it. For this effect, ſeeing himſelf threatned with a war from the Turk, he remonſtrates the danger, and deſires that theſe forces already on foot, ſhould be employed for the defence of the Empire. The Confederates conſents, provided their Army ſhould not be obliged

obliged to take any oath but to them, and be employed only againſt the common enemy. In the contrare, the Emperor deſired, that theſe forces ſhould abſolutely obey him, and that they ſhould be ſent to him without any condition at all. The buſineſs was ſo long debated, that theſe troops came very late to Hungary; whence you may eaſily judge, that though the greateſt part of this League be compoſed of German Princes, yet it is accounted to be a thing different from the body of Germany; either becauſe ſome ſtrangers have ſigned it, and contributes to the maintenance of its Army; or becauſe the two Kings of France and Sweden who are members of it, are more powerful then all the reſt of the Confederates together. For the preſent, their Army is under the command of Wolfgang Julius, Count of Hollach, and make a body a part, ſeparated from the forces of the Emperor, and theſe of the Empire.

P. Speak now of theſe forces, which the Viſier imployed againſt us laſt year, and whence it came, that the ſtorm was not diverted by a quick concluſion of the Treaty which was then on foot?

G. That I may ſatisfie you in order to your demand, you may be pleaſed to know, that the Sultan having reſolved to cut out work for us, ſent into Hungary his Great Viſier, who arrived at Belgrade the eigth of June. The Baron of Goes Embaſſador for his Imperial Majeſty came there the day after, and upon the tenth of the moneth was brought to the Viſiers preſence. This great Baſha had upon his left hand two of his Brothers, on his right hand the Mufti, and round about him, no fewer then two hundred

hundred Officers: At this firſt audience, the Baron told him, after he had complemented him, that he was come there to conclude the Treaty that had been begun between him and Ali Baſha. He was told that he was come too late, and that they would think further of the matter when they came to our Frontiers. The Baron replyed, that then they had done him wrong in making him come ſo far; that he ſaw no reaſon why they ſhould not come to a concluſion at that time; that greater difficulties would ariſe after the war broke out; and that God would puniſh thoſe, who occaſioned the ſhedding innocent blood. The Grand Viſier ſubjoyned, that he had thought very deliberatly on all theſe reaſons at Conſtantinople; and if that had been offered there, which was done here, he had not undertaken ſo long a voyage; neither would he hear any thing of the Treaty of Themiſwar, but made grievous complaints of thoſe who had violated the peace. The Baron told him, All theſe things had been already ſpoken of, and fully anſwered. This was all was done at their firſt meeting; but the Viſier ſaid, that the Baron might yet ſend a Courrier to the Emperor and tell him, that if he would disburſe ſuch a ſum of money as ſhould be demanded of him, evacuate the places, which yet he keeped in Tranſilvany, and Zekelheid in Hungary, and demoliſh the Fort of Serini, there was yet hopes of an accommodation.

P. I believe by this propoſition the Viſier intended only to amuſe the Imperialiſts: for I cannot fancy that the Turk having advanced ſo far in Hungary with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, and an hun-

dred and thirty pieces of Canon, would return without ſo much as one blow.

G. I think ſo too, for I do not fancy, that any Miniſter, how great ſoever he may be, either in merite or credite, dare fall upon any reſolutions, but ſuch as his Maſter hath preſcrived to him. The Army then began its march the eleventh of June 1663. with ſo great pompe, that one would have thought that it conſiſted of two hundred thouſand fighting men. The noiſe of Camels, Horſes and Mules, the ratling of Drums and Timbals, the ſound of Trumpets continued almoſt night and day, till the eighteenth of the ſame moneth. The Officers moved but ſlowly, for though every day ſome went away, yet it proved to be almoſt none but Baſhas, and their equipage, which being ſplendid, made a ſhow brave to admiration. At length upon the fifteenth day, the Aga of the Janiſaries marched with four thouſand of his Body, and was followed by the reſt of his Army till the eighteenth day; on which the Grand Viſier put himſelf on his way with royal magnificence. He ſent before him a thouſand foot-men, each of them having one or two led horſes. After them came the Spahi Alagarſi, who is General of the Gentlemen that ſerves a horſe-back; his great Standard went before him, and he was followed by ſix hundred Spahi Edeli, the valianteſt men in Turky, having their banner exceedingly fine. Theſe were followed by a long ſtave, at the end of which, there was a button of braſs, from which did hang a horſe tail. A little after you might ſee two great Banners which were carried before the Viſiers two Brothers, and

other Perſons and Commanders of quality, who were accompanied with ſeven hundred Hoſvadars or Grooms, almoſt all covered with Jacks or Coats of maile to their knees. At length the Collors, Enſigns and Banners of the Great Viſier marched, and were cloſe followed with ſixteen led horſes, decored with Saddles and Caparisons, embroidered with gold and precious ſtones. The Grooms who led them, had coats of cloath of gold, and breeches of crimſon velvet. Eight Lackeys of the Viſier were in the ſame habit; and amongſt them Himſelf marched, accompanied with two Janiſaries, carrying on his Head a Turban of a great value. After the Viſier came the Roſevendy, or Great Chancellor; the Teſtadir, or Commiſſar General, with ſome others of the Principal Officers of the Army. The Gentlemen of his Chamber, all young men, between twenty and thirty years of age, covered with Coſſacks, ſix hundred Hoſvadars, or Grooms, forty Cimbals and Trumpets, two hundred ordinary horſe-men, and threeſcore horſes, which carried the Great Viſiers Tents and Pavilions. With this formidable and magnificent Company, he arrived at Bukovar the twenty fourth of the moneth; and there he was told by that Aga, whom he had ſent to the Cham of Tartary, that in ſtead of fourſcore thouſand men which he had promiſed, he would ſend ten thouſand under the conduct of his own ſon. The excuſe he made for not keeping his word was, that the white Tartars and the Muſcovites had made incurſions in his Territories, which obliged him to keep his troops for the defence of his Frontiers.

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Two dayes after he arrived at Eſek, where he ſojourned ten dayes, waiting for theſe who were to come and joyn with him. At length he paſſed over the Bridge which is twelve thouſand paces long, and came to Buda the fifteenth of July. There after many conſultations, the Seege of Newheuſel was reſolved on, and on the ſeventh of Auguſt the place was inveſted. Three thouſand men which Count Forgas Palfi, and Marqueſs Pio commanded, maring out to ſurpriſe the enemy, were taken in the net themſelves, and either killed or taken priſoners. The place was ſo cloſe beſeeged, that it was forced to capitulate and render on compoſition the eighteenth of September that ſame year.

P. The defeat of ſo great a number that ſallied, without doubt weakned the garriſon, and occaſioned the loſs of the Town.

G. It is probable it might have held out ſome longer time, but having no hopes of relief, it would have been conſtrained at length to ſubmit to the yoke. It endured three aſſaults, in all which the Turk was vigorouſly beat off and repulſed. Yet Count Forgas was put in reſtraint, accuſed not to have done his duty in the Siege. But I believe his misfortune was greater then his fault; they talked here when that place was taken, that the Officers were young and unexperienced: And in the contrare, the Viſier is a man of thirty and five years, very active and diligent in his expeditions, skilled in the Mathematicks, and of an heroical courage; and it is certain he was night and day in the trenches, exhorting and incouraging his ſojors both by precept and example.

The Town being taken, he cauſed fire ſeven pieces of Canon in ſign of victory; and having ſent one of his brothers to the Port to carry the news to the Grand Seigneur, he cauſed repair the breaches, and then retired to prepare for the next expedition. This loſs wakened the Empire, which till then ſeemed to be aſleep; and the Dyet being appointed to hold at Ratisbone, ſome Princes appeared in perſon, and the reſt by their Embaſſadors. There might a man behold the magnificence of our Germany: for though the Emperor had intreated the Princes to come without pomp, yet nothing was to be ſeen but that which was glorious and ſplendid. Many old Officers came and preſented their ſwords to the Emperor; and theſe Princes who had been accuſtomed to ſmell powder, offered themſelves to be diſpoſed of as his Majeſty thought fit. The number and known deſervings of theſe who pretended to be Commanders, took away the liberty of choyce from the Emperor, as the variety of flowrs doth with Ladies, when they walk in a garden in the month of May. But there was a neceſſity to chooſe ſome for the new levies that were to be made. His Imperial Majeſty having already three Armies under the Command of the Earls of Serini, Montecuculi, and Souches, thought it expedient by the addition of ſome more Officers, to render them more able to act. To this end, without making any change of the inferior Officers; and leaving the ſupreme Command of the three Armies to theſe three Earls, he adjoyned Philip, Prince Palatine of the branch of Sultzback, and Count Spar, who are perſons of great me-

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rite and high reputation. The firſt was to command his Majeſties Cavallery in the quality of Captain General, and the ſecond was to conduct his Infanetry and his Canon. Leopold William Marqueſs of Baden was to be Captain General in Chief of the Army of the Empire: Under him Count Fugger, Governor of Jngolſtadt, commanded the Infanetry, and Ulrich Duke of Wirtemberg was General of the Cavallery. John Adolph, Duke of Holſtein, and Guſtave Adolph Marquceſs of Baden ſerved in that ſame Army, in quality of Mareſhals of the field, the one for the horſe, the other for the foot. The Army of the Confederates having loſt the Prince of Solms, a little before the beginning of this war, was ever ſince under the command of Wolfgang Julius Count of Holach or Hohenlo, who had under him Officers and Sojors of good account and reputation. Count Serini commanded an Army of Hungarians and Cravats, who were very numerous. Count Souches had a flying Army, with which he made incurſions in the enemies Countrey, and defended our Frontiers, and obtained with it frequent victories. He took Neutra and Levens in the beginning of the Campagn, and fell upon the camp of theſe Turks, who were endeavoring to regain theſe two places, that they might the more eaſily come into Germany. By this action he layd ſix thouſand Turks in the duſt, and put five and twenty thouſand to flight; whereby he much encouraged all the reſt of the Chriſtian forces.

P. I would gladly know the number of the ſojors of whom theſe Armies were compoſed, by whom

they were leavied, by whom they were intertained, and by whom they were furniſhed with proviſions and amunitons, without which they could not ſubſiſt.

G. Armies are ever more numerous in paper, then in the field, ſo that I cannot certainly tell you the ſtrength of ours; but they ſay the Army of the Empire conſiſted of four and twenty thouſand, and that of the Confederates of twenty thouſand. The Emperor was ſaid to have in Montecuculies Army twelve thouſand light horſe, ſeven thouſand Curaſſiers, and eighteen thouſand foot: In that of Count Serinis, there were between five and twenty and thirty thouſand Cravats and Hungarians. In the Count of Souches Army were ten or twelve thouſand men of ſeveral Nations. If ye adde to all theſe, the Voluntaries and French Auxiliaries, which amounted to four thouſand horſe and as many foot; you will find that the number of all our forces far exceeded one hundred thouſand men, ſo many the Chriſtians have not had in the field in a long time, and which might ſeem to be of ſufficient ſtrength to chace the Turk out of Hungary. And it is probable they would have proved able enough for it, if all theſe ſeveral bodies had acted with one Spirit, or that there had been one Generaliſſimo of ſuch a quality, that all the reſt of the Generals ſhould have been obliged to pay him reſpect becauſe of his birth, and to give him obedience becauſe of his charge. If then our misfortune was ſuch, as that our Armies ſuffered our ſtrong places to be taken by the enemy; we muſt attribute it to the want of order, and to the hatred that was amongſt the ſeveral Nations, whereof our Armies

Armies were compoſed. As to the reſt of your demand, the Princes then at Ratisbone, when it was reſolved to aſſiſt the Emperor, every one promiſed to do according to the proportion of his Revenue and Eſtate. And in the mean time every one levied ſojors, who were entertained at the charges of thoſe who raiſed and ſent them. But it was neceſſare, notwithſtanding that the Emperor ſhould make Magazines from which all the Armies might be furniſhed with munitions, both for the belly and the war. And certainly, if the orders of his Imperial Majeſty had been well obſerved, the forces had wanted for nothing: For every Prince, Lord and Commonwealth being careful to ſend that pay each to his own as was promiſed, it is more then probable the ſouldiers had been well enough entertained; and ſo nothing to have been wanting but the ſpirit of union, to have made them act with ſucceſs. It is true that as the great body of the Empire moves but ſlowly, ſo the troops came too late to the Rendezvous, and Caniſia was relieved by the enemy before our forces were together.

P. The Gazets aſſured us, that the Forts of Serini, Little Comorra, Veſprin and Papa, were taken in the very ſight of our armies, and that theſe who were ſtouteſt, were apprehenſive the Viſier would have followed his good fortune further.

G. Ordinarily victories and loſſes are followed by others of that nature, and the one increaſeth, the other abates the courages of men. The Grand Viſier having retired to Conſtantinople after the taking of Newhauſel, cauſed attack the Earls of *Serini* and

Hollach. They having repulſed the enemy with a notable loſs, breathed after nothing but conflicts and victories: In effect theſe brave men taking the advantage of the Baſhas retreate, run over a part of Hungary which belonged to the Turk, took and plundered Raboska, Segues, and five Churches; burnt the Bridge of Ezek, carried the terror of their name throughout all the Countrey, and burnt to aſhes all the corns, hay and ſtraw, which the enemy had on the border of the river Drave. The fame of theſe victories ſpred it ſelf over all the Empire, gave great reputation to the Generals, inflamed the courage of their ſoldiers, filled their purſes with money, and furniſhed them with abundance of proviant whereof they ſtood in need. Theſe two Earls ſeeing affairs look with ſo favorable an aſpect, ſought the means to lead them to victory; they went to Ratiſbone, and proponed ſome military exploits, made it known that the Bridge of Ezek could not be rebuilded, till the ſeaſon were farr ſpent; that in the mean time they might beſeege and take Caniſia, which already they had blocked by the taking of Buzats, Ziguet, and by the garriſon they had in Serinſwar. They demanded all theſe things that were neceſſare for the ſiege of ſo important a place, and undoubtedly believing they ſhould be ſent to them, they vigorouſly begun it at the opening of the ſpring. This ſiege proved a Murtherer, for it hugely diminiſhed the number of the beſeegers, and endured longer then they at firſt did imagine; the enemy approaching for Caniſias relief, the ſiege is raiſed, and before the Chriſtian forces could draw together, the Turk takes Serinſ-

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war and little Comorre. Theſe ſucceſſes were followed with greater: For after our Army was aſſembled, he continued his victories by the taking of Veſprin. But fortune weary of following the wrong party, turned on our ſide, after which time the Vilier and his Turks were not ſo ſucceſsful. Lewis Count of Souches Governorof Comorre defeats the Infidels at Sernevits, and purſues them ſo vigorouſly, that he made them abandon Barcan, and ruined a bridge of boats, which they had upon the Danube. Raimund, Count of Montecuculi made them repent that they offered to paſs the river of Raab, and the Earls of Coligni and Fueillade, cut in pieces all thoſe that had paſſed the ſame river near to Saint Godard.

P. They ſay indeed, that the Count of Coligni and Fueillade did great things, and therefore I ſhould be glad, before this diſcourſe be at an end, to know ſomething of the aſſiſtance the Emperor deſired of forreign Potentates; for I ſuppoſe it hath been one of the great members of our Armies, and one of the great motives that obliged the Grand Viſier to hearken ſo ſoon to a peace.

G. There is no doubt to be made of that, for the Emperor being very careful to make himſelf ſtrong againſt ſo powerful an enemy, ſent his Embaſſadors to implore aſſiſtance from all theſe who were able to give it. Theſe he ſent, found good words in all places, and in ſome, good deeds; all Germany was alarmed, Italy, Sweden, Lorrain, Spain and France, took the preſervation of Hungary to heart. Spain and Italy promiſed to furniſh great ſums of money; Sweden Lorrain and France offered to ſend troops entertained

tained at their own charges. I cannot tell preciſely what the reſt did. But it may be ſaid truly, that the zeal of the French ſurpaſſed that of all other Chriſtians. The King who hath as much piety as Saint Lewis, as much valor as Philip Auguſt, as muſt wiſdom as Charles the fifth, and as much courage as Henry the Great, and more zeal for Religion then all his Predeceſſors, did hear with much grief, that the Turk had begun the war; and with much joy, that the Emperor ſought his help. The miſchiefs the Tartars had done upon our frontiers, and the numbers of poor Chriſtians that were every day brought in ſlavery, and put in fetters, moved him to ſo much compaſſion, that when Count Strozzi limited the ſuccours which he ſought in name of his Imperial Majeſty, to four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, he wiſhed they had not offered to ſet bounds to his liberality. Then the words Chriſtian & Royal which came from his mouth, did make it appear, that all that can be ſaid of his piety towards God and his pitty towards Hungary, is far below his merite. He exhorted his Nobility to this glorious Voyage; and told, even thoſe whom he loved beſt, that they would make their Court as advantageouſly in Hungary, as at the Louver. He proteſted in preſence of many Princes and Lords, That if his ſon the Daulphin were ten years of age, he would ſend him in this expedition. And which is more ſtrange, he aſſured his Audience, that if it ſhould be Gods pleaſure to afflict Chriſtendom ſo much, as to ſuffer the Emperor to be worſted in this Campagn, he would go in perſon the next, to repair his loſſes, & repulſe his enemy.

Theſe

Theſe Diſcourſes full of martial heat, and Chriſtian zeal, did put ſuch an edge upon the French Nobility, that inſtantly hundreths were ſeen who preferred the ſatisfaction of their conſciences and generoſities, to all the pleaſures and contents they could expect, either in the Court, or in this life. Prince Philip, Knight of Lorrain, knowing his Predeceſſors had reigned in Jeruſalem after they had expelled the Saraſens, and that the Count of Harcourt his father, was grieved that his age would not ſuffer him to put on armor, nobly ſupplyed his place, and gave in this occaſion ſo many proofs of his courage, that it may be ſaid, he hath revived the memory of theſe Princes of Lorrain, who in former times conquered the Eaſt; and of the Duke of Mercœur, who in the beginning of this laſt age, made himſelf be admired at the retreat of Caniſia, and the taking of Alba Royal.

The Princes of Rohan and Soubize, having a thouſand of their Predeceſſors to imitate, did make it appear at this time: that if the Dukes of whom they carry the tittle, knew how to defend theſe of the Reformed Religion, they knew as well to expoſe their lives for the defence of Chriſtians. The Duke of Briſac remembring the reputation which the Mareſhalls of Coſſé and Briſac his Anceſters acquired, did neither ſpare his body, nor his ſpirit, to follow their trace, and to win glory to himſelf. The Count of Sault, and the Marqueſs of Ragny and Canaples ſhew a burning deſire they had to equalize the merit of the Conſtable of France the Duke of Leſdiguieres, the Mareſhalls of Crequi, the Lords of Pontdormi, and an infinit number more of their illuſtrious Predeceſſors who

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went before them in the road of Military vertue. The Duke of Boüillon, and the Count of Auvergn his brother, led by the example of their brother and their Uncle, and by that of the glorious Godfrey, who filled all Europe with admiration in the year 1096. did ſo ſignalize themſelves; that if they did not reign in Jeruſalem, as their Anceſtors did, at leaſt they will reign in the hearts of thoſe who were ſpectators of their valors, and who knows the laudable ambition they have to equalize the ancient Earles of Bologne, of Naſſaw, of Berg, and the Princes of Orange. The Count of Selle, the Knight of Saint Aignan, the Marqueſs of Caſtelnaw, and all the other French Lords & Gentle-men, who were about two thouſand horſe, remembring they had Lewis the Victorious both for their King, and their Pattern, made the world ſee, ſome by their glorious deaths, and the reſt by their heroical exploits, that they were reſolved, either to pluck the palm out of the Viſiers hand, or die honorably in the quarrel. In a word, the Auxiliaries which the King ſent us, under the conduct of the Count of Coligni, and the Lieutenant Generals Bodewels and Gaſſion, did contribute much to the Victories which we gained: and we may ſay, that there was not amongſt them a ſimple ſoldier who had not been an Officer, nor Captain, who had not very much experience. So that this little Body, which might have furniſhed an army of fifty thouſand ſtrong with Officers, had a great ſhare in theſe advantages we acquired of the Turks in this Campagn. And the glorious actions of the Count himſelf, hath gained him as much reputation as may make him ſhine in Hiſtory, as bright as an Admiral, an

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Andelot, or a Gaſpar, his Anceſters.

P. I doubt not but the gallantery and courage of all theſe brave men, did exerciſe the valor of the Grand Viſier to ſome purpoſe.

G. The deſtruction they made in all the Ottoman troops, their covering the fields with the carcaſſes of the valianteſt of the Spahi, their paſſing the river of Raab over the bellies of the Janiſaries, ſtruck ſuch a terror in the Turks, and abated the courage of the Great Viſier, in ſuch a manner, that fearing a Rebellion, which coſt him his head, he thought on nothing elſe but to obtain an honorable Peace for himſelf, and profitable for his Maſter. The Emperor, on whom Fortune did then ſmile, fearing the turning of her wheel, conſented to what the Viſier deſired, and againſt the opinion of his men of war, agreed to his demands.

P. I have heard, that this Peace was as ſoon concluded, as proponed. And the Diſcourſes which I have heard upon that ſubject, ſeemed to me not to be favorable to his Imperial Majeſty: wherefore, I conjure you to defend him: I ſhal only hearken to you, provided you examine all that is ſaid againſt him: and that you ſhow me wherein the Gazeter hath probably miſtaken himſelf.

G. I did imagine, that the Gazets would awake your curioſity: I have examined them all, and finding ſome things in them that brangles ſome ſpirits, I have ſet down in writing, all that I thought worthy your knowledge upon that ſubject. I pray you, take it, and read it at your conveniency: I am hopeful you will reliſh the reaſons which I bring in his Majeſties

ſties favor: and after you have well conſidered them, you will be pleaſed to tell me, whether you approve of them, or not.

A POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE,

MADE BETWEEN LEOPOLD the moſt Auguſt Emperor of the Romans, and Achmet, or Mahomet Sultan of Turky, the 21. of October 1664.

THE witty Boccalini, having weighed the vaſte Empire of the Ottomans in the balance, found it did grow lighter ever day, and that the weight of it was but half that it was in the days of our Fathers. I am of that ſame opinion: and the facility Emperor Leopold met with, to bring the Grand Seigneur to an accommodation, will permit no rational man to doubt it. Theſe wiſe coüards who offer to abuſe us, by telling that the Turk will ſhortly water his horſe in the river of Rhine, muſt change their language, and ſay with me, that Hungary and Tranſil-

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vany are the limites which he ſhal never paſs. Theſe who have heard of the threatnings of the Great Turk muſt imagine, they are like the waves of a tempeſtuous ſea, which ſeem to approach with ſo great fury, as if they would overflow the whole earth, and yet are reſiſted and broken by the ſmalleſt rock that ſtands upon the ſhoar. A few Chriſtian forces, a great many whereof were but novices, gave a ſtop to the power of the Great Viſier, covered the fields with his valiant Spahi, and paſſed the river of Raab in ſpite of his Janiſſaries. Theſe gallants who make it an article of their faith to contemn death, did learn here, that nature perſwades more efficaciouſly then their Alcoran, when ſhe taught them to fear the hail of our muskets & the thunder of our canons. Sernevits and Saint Godard are names they will never forget: And while they live, they will imagine, that the Counts Souches, Hollach, Coligni & Fueillade, are in their rear, and with them the Princes of Baden and Sultsbach. Their poſterity will never hear ſpeak of theſe Lords but with terror, & ours with admiration. The Janiſaries never ſaw ſo fearful a thing, as the French Cavallery, nor will they ever ſee Blew Coſſacks chamarried with ſilver, but they will call to mind the extraordinary valor of our Volunteers. The Moldavians will tremble, when they think of the battel of Levens, ſo will the Turks when they remember the fury of theſe blows, which forced them to abandon Barcan, before they had formed the deſign to beſeege it. Hungary and Germany hath made war with the Mahometans with advantage, under the Enſignes of Vladiſlaus, Matthias Corvin, Charles

Charles the fifth, Ferdinãd the firſt, & Rodolph the ſecond. John Hunniades, George Caſtriot Scanderberg, Sigiſmund Battori, George Martenuſias, Nicolas Serini, & Philip Emmanuel of Lorrain Duke of Mercœur, made the Turks repent many times, that they croſt the Helleſpont. But never were they reduced to the neceſſity to ſeek Peace, but by the forces that threatned them in Aſia; and now by the good fortune of Leopold, and the conduct of his Majeſties Generals. This Peace hath made it known, that the Grand Viſier imagined our ſwords were in his reins, and that there was no aſſurance for him, but by a reaſonable accommodation. The Emperor then ſeeing the terror which accompanied his enemy, and being apprehenſive the diſcord that was amongſt the Chiftains of the Chriſtian Armies, might convert the pleaſure we had to be victorious five or ſix times in one ſummer, in ſorrow and tears, layd hold on occaſion, entered in Treaty with the Viſier, and granted him Peace, whereof we ſtood as much in need as he. The diſcourſe of this Peace, is the ordinary entertainment of curious people. Theſe who are taken up with other important affairs, buſie their thoughts notwithſtanding with this Peace. Men of abilities talk of the conſequences of it, and every one ſpeaks of it according to his fancy. Some blame it, others praiſe it, and few or none believes but there is a myſtery in it; yea the common people, whoſe apprehenſions ſeldom go deeper then the out-ſide, will needs be Judges of what the Gazeter writes. And the moſt ignorant will needs pierce into the Intrigues, yea the Intereſts of both the Emperor and

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the Empire. We ſee none but ſuch as carry evil news, and who to alarm Germany, ſay, that Peace is made with the Turk, of purpoſe to make war in the Empire; and that we have ſpared the blood of ſtrangers, to ſhed the blood of Patriots. And they talk openly that the Emperor intends to break that Union, which is amongſt the Confederate Princes; that he deſires to favor one of the parties in the war of Erfort, and force the Lutherans to go to Maſs. Some Prophets who will needs fore-tell the down-fall of the Turkiſh Empire by the French Armes, will aſſure us, that the ſmel of the Lillies will ſuffocate the Roman Eagle; and that he who favored us with ſo ſeaſonable ſuccours, muſt now be the object of our valor, and the ſubject of our misfortunes. And becauſe theſe malicious ſpirits know, that ſome of the German people have obligations to the Swedes, and that they do bad offices to the Emperor, when they ſay that he hath ſome buſineſs to do with them; they endeavor to perſwade the world, that the Swedes have an eye upon Sileſia, and that his Majeſty hath concluded this Peace purpoſely to oppoſe more vigorouſly their unjuſtice. My purpoſe is to ſtop the torrent of this malice, and to ſhow the reaſons which probably moved his Imperial Majeſty to this accommodation. I know not if I ſhal do all I intend: At leaſt I am very aſſured, that his Majeſty hath infinite more religious thoughts, then theſe ſuborners, who dare blame his pure and pious intentions. And I am verily perſwaded, he minds nothing but the good of his Eſtates. I know if theſe ſeditious perſons durſt ask him, why he entred in a Treaty with

the Port at a time, when all Europe believed he might have remounted the Throne of Hungary, and been crowned with Lawrels, he would give them reaſons for it, to which no reply could be made. But Soveraigns have not yet been obliged to ſubmit themſelves to the judgement of the populace or commons, or give them an account why they have made Peace, or why they have declared war. And yet if they will hearken to me, I am hopeful to ſatisfie their curioſity.

The wiſe Pilot who knows and ſees the marks and fore-runners of a ſtorm, cauſeth pull down his ſails, before they be torn by the tempeſt, or that his ſhip be in danger to be loſt. The Emperor did the like in this rencounter. He ſaw that his own forces, thoſe of the Empire, and thoſe of the Confederates, were in a continual difference one with another; he was juſtly afraid, that this diſcord might give the Turks forces, which were more unanimous, an advantage to give ſuch a blow, as might not only make the reſt of Hungary ſubmit to the Ottoman yoke, but alſo brangle Germany ſo, that he ſhould find it in an extream diſorder. He was likewiſe weary of begging aſſiſtance from his equals and inferiors, and was forced with grief to hear continual complaints of thoſe who were obliged to ſend recruts, and entertainment to the troops they had levied. He knew that many of our Patriots looked with no good eye upon the Auxiliarites, and that every mean fellow endeavored to refuſe them both victuals, and lodging for their money: He knew he ought not quarter all the Armies in his own Territories, and that he was not obliged

obliged by the ruine of his own Eſtates, to preſerve theſe which belonged to other members of the Empire. He ſaw well enough the dangerous miſunderſtanding that was creepd in amongſt the German Princes, upon the account of the City of Erfurt, and had reaſon to believe if the matter came to blows, they would recall the forces they had in Hungary, & leave him alone againſt the whole power of the Turk.

Italy in this rencounter did move but little for his Imperial Majeſty: and he whoſe lawful and holy deſigns carried him to be moſt favorable to him, could not do much, in regard, his frequent ſickneſs and indiſpoſition: The great affairs he had to do, and the conjunctures of time, had ever been contrare to him, as all the world knows. A twenty years war had ſo drained the Venetians, that they were not capable to do great matters; and though they ſhould attempt ſomething, yet their naval forces would not make the Grand Seigneur recall thoſe Armies of his, who lay heavy upon the Emperor. The King of Spain hath not yet had time to breath, and though his Intereſts are mixed with thoſe of the Emperor; yet being buſied to quench the fire that burns his own houſe, he is not in a capacity to aſſiſt Leopold with either great ſums of money, or numbers of men. All he can do, is to counſell him to take up his meaſures right, and rather buy Peace, then want it: and thereby put himſelf in a condition, to enter to the inheritance of his Anceſtors, if he be called to it by the Laws of that Kingdom. The King of Great Brittain hath made an alliance with the enemies of the Illuſtrious Houſe of Auſtria, which probably will hinder him to joyn

his forces with ours againſt a Potentate whom he never feared, or ever will be afraid of. The Hollanders having been once members of the Empire, were obliged to the Emperor Ferdinand the third, for acknowledging them to be Soveraign, and free Eſtates, at leaſt indirectly, after the Peace of Munſter, have ſome reaſon to embrace the intereſts of his ſon, but they will not do it for all that, becauſe they can gain nothing but honor by it, & that is a morſel which doth not relliſh their Palats, as alſo becauſe they may ſtand in need of all their forces themſelves, if the Engliſh chance to give them any work to do. The Hungarians are fickle and volage, on whoſe reſolutions, no certain foundation can be laid. And becauſe they find the inconveniences, and diſcommodities of the war, (their Countrey being the Stage of it) the Emperor did believe, and had reaſon to do ſo, that there was no better mean to keep them within the bounds of their duty, then to procure Peace and Quiet to them, and to get them to lay down arms under another pretext. The Polonians and Muſcovites, whoſe intereſt it ever was to weaken this formidable enemy of the Turk, were by the ears, & deſtroying one another, at the time when they ſhould have taken that advantage againſt him, which we furniſhed by giving him work elſewhere. And the affairs of theſe two Nations are in ſuch confuſion, that we have but ſmal hopes to put them in order, and reconcile them. The Coſſacks are in the ſame Category, and that warlike Nation, which in former times made incurſions to the Euxin ſea, ſides now with the Polonians, or elſe are unglorioufly quiet Spectators of their differences,

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without daring to hazard the enterprise of any important action.

These are, as I conceive, the reasons which moved the Emperor to embrace Peace: and it may be, the Pope, fearing he might be obliged to contribute to the maintenance of the war, hath advised him to do so, for his own particular interest. These reasons should, if I do not flatter my self, sufficiently disabuse those, who have entertained themselves with a contrare opinion. But because some ill natured Patriots, whom I would gladly convince, bring reasons on the other part which seem plausible; I will be at the pains to examine them, & cast them one after another.

They say, the fear the Emperor had, that the Swedes would invade his Dominions, while he was busied in the war of Hungary, gave a stop to the pursute of his victories there. I am not at all of that opinion: But if it were so, what can any truly honest man speak against it. And certainly, no Politician will blame his Majesty for having such thoughts. And if such considerations of importance moved him to accept of an advantageous agreement, there is a great deal of more reason to commend his prudence, then accuse him of precipitation. I suppose, there are few or none in the world but knows, there are some animosities between the Emperor and the Crown of Sweden. The Swedes show themselves constantly ready to own the Protestants, whom the House of Austria endeavors to bring back to the bosome of the Church of Rome. The wars which the Swedes made in Germany under the conduct of the Great Gustavus Adolphus, and the auspicious reign of

Queen Chriſtina, being directly againſt the Imperial Majeſty, hath imbittered their ſpirits, & rendered their diſtruſts & miſunderſtandings immortal. King Charles Guſtave, waſted, ſpoiled and ruined Pole and Denmark. He who is now Emperor, and was then but King of Hungary and Bohemia, oppoſed his victorious conqueſts, which inflamed that King with ſuch a deſire of revenge, that it is not dead with him. Theſe conſiderations, & that of the great number of Lutherans, that the Emperor hath in his hereditary Dominions, the deſire they may have to change their Maſter, to preſerve the liberty of their conſciences, the great preparations the Swed inceſſantly makes, though he be alwayes conſtantly well armed; were capable to give juſt apprehenſions and jealouſies to a Prince, whoſe forces were ſcarce able to reſiſt that powerful and dreadful enemy, whom he had in head of him.

Theſe who will bring France in the play, and dare alledge that the fear the Emperor had, that the Moſt Chriſtian King might ſeaſe on the Spaniſh Netherlands, forced him to this accómodation with the Turk, ſeems to have far leſs reaſon on their ſide. The controverſies which the Crown of France had with the Auſtrian Family, are intirely removed by a ſolemn Treaty: And two Queens, one whereof hath the poſſeſſion of the Body, the other of the Heart, and both of them of the Ear of the King; the one in the quality of his Mother, the other of his Conſort, will never permit them to come to a rupture. The tender love the King bears to the Queen his wife, and the reverence he carries to the Queen his Mother, are theſe indiſſoluble bonds of the good intelligence

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he intends to keep with their kinſmen; and if this be not ſufficient, yet there is one reaſon that is infallible: This Prince is extraordinarly religious, and though the heat of a gallant youth, a courage heroically martial, and immenſe riches, might perſwade him to a breach, yet his conſcience will never ſuffer him to enterprize any thing, that hath in it the leaſt appearance of unjuſtice. And if he find he cannot live without the exerciſe of his valor, and the ſtrength of his admirable Genius, he will chooſe rather to go and gather palms in Palæſtine, then to imploy againſt us the flaſhing ſword of his warlike Nobility. The Duke of Beauforts ſetling foot in Africk, is a fore-runner of what the Infidels have to fear, and the Chriſtians to hope for. The Kings great ſoul aſpires to great things, but he weighs all his actions in the ballance of reaſon. The zeal he witneſſed, by reſenting the injury done us by the Turk, the Chriſtian words he ſpoke upon that ſubject, the brave and ſeaſonable ſuccours he ſent us, hath blotted out of the Emperors mind all ſuſpicions and jealouſies he could harbor of him. The affronts, which Charles the eigth put upon Maximilian the firſt, and the wrongs done by Lewis the twefth, Francis the firſt, and Henry the ſecond to Charles the fifth are buried and intirely forgotten. The attempt of Henry the Great, and the aſſiſtance which Lewis the Juſt, & Lewis the Victorious, have given ſince to the enemies of Ferdinand the ſecond, and Ferdinand the third, and the oppoſition was made by the French to Leopolds election to the Imperial Dignity, have now no more power in the Emperors heart, then if he had never heard of them.

His Imperial Majeſty knows, that his Predeceſſors have ſerved the Kings of France in the ſame manner, imploying both Policy and Power againſt them. He is not ignorant, what evil uſage, Lewis the eleventh, Charles the eighth, and Lewis the twelfth received from John and Ferdinand Kings of Arragon; and he hath read in the Hiſtory of his Family, how Charles the fifth keeped Francis the firſt priſoner, till he was reduced to great extremities: And how Philip the ſecond uſed all means to rob Henry the fourth of the Inheritance belonged to him without any diſpute. And in one word the jealouſie of State hath ever been ſo great between theſe two moſt Illuſtrious Houſes, that the one never endeavored, or enterprized any great action, but it was vigorouſly oppoſed by the other. But Lewis following Maximes wholly different from theſe of his Anceſtors, it is fit Leopold do the like, and not ſuffer himſelf to be ſurpaſſed in any act of generoſity: and that there be now an entire good underſtanding between them. The propinquity of Blood, the uniformity of Religion, the equality of Age, and which is much more then all theſe, the Glory of God, the propagation of the Faith, and the quiet and repoſe of Chriſtendom, which depends much upon their Union, ſhould oblige them to love one another, to ſuccor one another, and to have but one ſoul and one will.

It may be ſaid, that upon the death of this King of Spain, the Intereſts of theſe two great Princes will prevail more with them, then all theſe conſiderations that I have alledged. And, that both having pretentions to the Inheritance of their Father in Law, they

they will ſhare it with dint of Sword, and the ſtrongeſt will carry away the greateſt part. To which I anſwer, that the King of Spain dying, and leaving a lawful Heir Male, the adminiſtrators of the Pupil will dutifully render to the Moſt Chriſtian King all theſe reſpects, all that friendſhip and good offices and neighborhood, which were promiſed to him in the laſt Treaty of Peace by the Catholick King. The Emperor will do the ſame upon his part, and knowing, that the love and amity of great perſons is entertained by Civilities, by Embaſſies, and other teſtimonies of honor and reſpect; he will not be wanting to give all theſe Demonſtrations of Curteſie, that can be required for the preſervation of ſo precious &ſo neceſſare a friendſhip. But if it ſhould pleaſe God (which we pray him to avert) to call to another world, both the King and Prince of Spain without any other heir male, I fear, we ſhould be in danger to ſee bloody Tragedies. Yet we hope ſo much from the prudence of the Spaniard, and the moderation of the Emperor, and the King, that they will ſuffer themſelves to be over-ruled by reaſon, more then intereſt; and every one of them quitting ſomething of their right, come to a fair and arbitrary accommodation. Peaceable men would wiſh, that the King of Spain might live yet twenty years, and that his ſon the Prince comd to a mans age, might ſucceed him. Yea, I know ſome, who would gladly quite ſome of the years of their own life, to prolong theirs who are ſo neceſſare for the repoſe of Chriſtendom. But theſe being vain wiſhes, I hope that he who hath taught us not to care for to morrow, will provide for his

people

people, and will make it known to men, that what ſeems impoſſible to them, is eaſie to him; and will let us ſee, that he who can bring good out of evil, and light out of darkneſs, knows how to bring ſtrength out of weakneſs: And turn that to the glory of his Great Name, which humane prudence made the matter of their fear and deſpair. For my part I think we ought not to dive in the uncertainty of things to come. But if it were permitted us to think of them, we ſhould meet with that which might feed our hopes. I ſpeak truth with ſome repugnancy, I am of the opinion, if Potentates would ſuffer their differences to be removed, as eaſily as particular men do, it would not be impoſſible to ſatisfie the pretenders, who it may be, will demand their Inheritance with the mouths of Canons, and ſo clip the wings of the ambition of all others. Don John of Auſtria may read in Hiſtory, that perſons of his condition have reigned in Caſtile, as well as in Naples and Portugal. But ſeeing the dignity and power of his Competitors, he will let his ſail fall, and will content himſelf to be Great Maſter of the Order of Saint James, if they will not gratifie him with ſome temporal appenage. Theſe of the Houſe of Lacerda hath been ſo long ſubjects, that they think not now of reigning; and if they do, they will ſtiffle their hopes, when they ſee the Emperor and the King agreed ſo, that France ſhal enjoy what belonged to Mary of Burgundy and Auſtria, that which appertained to Joanne of Spain. Other Grandees will rather chooſe to be governed by a Prince, who hath alwayes been more eminent then themſelves, then be Vaſ-

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ſals to one who formerly was but their equal. And if they would rather have a Spaniard for their King, then a Germane, let them caſt their eye upon the King of Portugal, and ſo reünite all Spain in one body, and at one pull pluck up the root of all theſe differences which have brought them ſo low. But I go too far, & enters (before I be aware) in a ſtrange labyrinth. It is better for me to remit this ſo important an affair, to the prudence of theſe great Souls, who knowing how to govern & manage great Eſtates, knows alſo how to divide them, when neceſſity requires it.

I paſs therefore from this odious ſubject to another, which is little better: to anſwer thoſe who aſſure themſelves, that this Peace was made that the Emperor might be in a capacity to force the Proteſtants of all his hereditary Dominions, yea thoſe of Hungary, which is elective, to go to Maſs: and if that ſucceed with him, he will go a further length, and try if his fortune in that attempt, will prove better then that of his father, and grand-father.

They ſay, and all the world believes it, that the Princes of the Houſe of Auſtria hearkens much to the perſwaſions of devout and religious perſons: and that there is not one of them who would not gladly look upon the picture of the laſt Proteſtant that ſhould ever be in the world.

Hiſtories teach us, that Philip the ſecond King of Spain, loſt a conſiderable part of his Low-Countreys, with a great deal of more zeal, then policy; and that by introducing the Inquiſition in theſe places, he baniſhed obedience out of them. The Emperor Ferdinand the ſecond brought Germany to the brink of a precipice

precipice, when he made his averſion to the Proteſtants known, and commanded them to give back the Church-goods to their ancient Maſters. This Mandate put rebellion in the hearts, and arms in the hands of a world of perſons, who never laid down either their ſwords or their animoſities, till that Emperor and his ſon had ſufficiently drained their Provinces of men, and their coffers of moneys; nay, till both of them had learned that God had reſerved the Empire of conſciences to himſelf. I have ſeen with my eyes, and I have heard with my ears, ſome Hungarians, men of quality, who ſaid openly at Vienne, that the Emperors Counſel would force them to ſubmit to the Turk, by offring to conſtrain them to embrace the Roman Religion. There are many in other places, who in the like caſe, will do the ſame thing. And almoſt all men prefer the liberty of their mind to that of their body. Men have been ſeen become fierce as Lyons, and women to eat their own children, rather then ſubmit to theſe who made war againſt their tenacious opinions. Many who live yet, will prefer death to the Maſs; and will ſhow as much zeal againſt it. as theſe of Flanders did in the time of our fathers. Auſtria had better imitate France, and inſtead of fire and ſword, apply meekneſs and doctrine, to bring home theſe who they conceive are out of the way. I ſuppoſe an age and a half hath made the Emperor and his Miniſters know, that violent courſes are not effectual for the converſion of ſouls. The nature of man oppoſeth it ſelf to all things that reſtrains its liberty. Theſe Prieſts who adviſe mens conſciences to be forced, had better ſing in the Quire, & read their Breviaries,

ries, then frequent Courts, and give counſel to Kings. If any Church men be found who are fit to govern, it is not they who are bred in Cloiſters: Their maximes and reſolutions being all taken out of the Canon Law, are fitter to bring the world in confuſion, then to keep it in good order. There are an hundred occaſions wherein the Law being executed in its rigor, proves manifeſt unjuſtice: And therefore in ſuch caſes, prudence is more neceſſare then knowledge. The Almighty hath given to Princes the ſoveraignty of the body, but hath reſerved that of the ſoul to himſelf. Men may be forced to go to Maſs, but cannot be conſtrained to believe the myſteries of it. Fearful people may be threatned to a bowing the knees of their bodies, without any reverence in their ſpirits. And ſome may be forced to acknowledge themſelves Catholicks with their mouths, and yet are not Catholicks in their hearts. Spain hath ſeen a thouſand deplorable examples of this undoubted verity. The fourth, yea the fifth generation of thoſe who have been conſtrained to be baptized, have been baniſhed for their unbelief: and thoſe who yet ſtay there, renounceth every day their Baptiſm, and participates not of the Sacraments without ſacriledge. And in matters of Religion, to be forced by the power of the arm of fleſh, produceth ever ſuch effects. The extraordinary and ill governed devotion of theſe Bigots who will have conſtraint to be applyed to conſciences, procures the deſolation of Provinces, and profanation of holy myſteries. I have known ſome prating fools, who durſt exclaim againſt Queen Chriſtina of Sweden, becauſe ſhe conſented to the

Peace

Peace of Germany, before ſhe had chaſed the Pope out of Rome. And, no doubt, there are hundreds of petty Monks, who have thought, perhaps, ſaid as much againſt thoſe who ſigned that Peace, before the Lutherans were brought to renounce their Belief. All ſuch are fiery zealots, whoſe maximes are grounded on their own capricious fancies. And aſſuredly their zeal would wax cold, if they were put but for three days to the duty of musketeers, and be allowed no other entertainement, but a pitance of bread and water. But theſe fools imagine, that in every place a bell rings to give notice of dinner time; and that all things are to be got in armies, as in Convents; and that it as eaſie to win battels, as to tell their beads. If the Emperor would not look upon ſuch a people, but at the Altar, and in the Pulpit, we ſhould not have ſo much occaſion of fear. His Majeſty hath traverſed almoſt all Germany, and having ſeen the bitter fruits of the former war, hath put on a firm reſolution not to plunge any more his people in new calamities. His principal Miniſters and Counſellors of Eſtate, have ſufficiently felt the evils and devaſtations which both civil and forreign wars have produced: And know, that it is eaſie to begin, but almoſt impoſſible to end buſineſs of that nature. They are not ignorant that the entertainment of armies, make the richeſt coffers of treaſure empty, and layeth the moſt fertile Provinces waſte. They know that a war for Religion is the moſt plauſible, and the moſt obſtinate that can be fancied; and that they cannot begin it, without bringing all Europe in the play, and putting their Maſters Eſtates in an evident danger to be for ever

ever loſt. We may then be confident, that the prudence of the Emperor, and the averſion he hath from domeſtick broyls, will choak all the deſigns of incendiaries, who would put a ſword in his hand to thruſt in his own bowels.

I am alſo informed, that ſome talk of deſigns the Emperor ſhould have againſt the Confederate Princes of the Rhine: and that there are ſome, who ſay, His Majeſty is diſſatisfied with them, that the forces they ſent to Hungary would not obey his orders entirely, and therefore he thinks upon the means whereby he may reduce them to the obedience they owe him. For my part, I think they ſpeak ſo without ground, and ſhal deſire all who have ſuch thoughts, to conſider what I am to ſay to them. This League is a hard bone to gnaw; and I am of the opinion, that his Majeſty may more eaſily impoſe his yoak upon all that of Hungary which the Turk poſſeſſeth, then force ten or twelve German Princes, ſupported by the moſt conſiderable powers of Chriſtendom, to ſubmit to him. It is not to be doubted, but this League making the diſtruſt that is between the Head and the Members of the Empire, known, cannot but infinitly diſpleaſe his Imperial Majeſty, making his power leſs by the half, himſelf leſs to be regarded and honored amongſt the Germans, and more vilipended amongſt ſtrangers. Good Patriots ſhould wiſh that all cauſes of jealouſie might be buried in perpetual oblivion: and that the ſeveral Princes would both ſeek and find the preſervation of their authority, in the good graces and favor of their Chief The Allies themſelves wiſheth the Emperor would baniſh that which occa-

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ſioned their confederacy; and that he would bring back that mutual truſt which the unhappineſs of the times hath chaſed from amongſt them, and ſo his Majeſty ſhould oblige them to think of nothing elſe but his ſervice, to ſeek the honor of his favor, and to procure with all their power, his content and ſatisfaction. But I ſhal never be perſwaded that the Emperor will make uſe of his power, where it will not only be unprofitable, but very hurtful to him; yea, & where moderation it ſelf will ſerve to little purpoſe, if it be not ſuſtained with the favor of the times, & by many examples of an extraordinary friendſhip. They ſay there was no good underſtanding between his Majeſties Generals, and thoſe of the League: And our ſpeculative States-men will aſſure us, that there is as little between their Maſters: But conjectures are not always convincing. And becauſe the Emperor hath little inclination to love thoſe who do not truſt him, it is not permitted to conclude, that he will attack them with open force. I ſhould rather think, he intends to gain them by demonſtrations of kindneſs and love, and that he hopes their own good nature and duty to their Countrey, will be ſtrong motives to induce them to contribute both their counſels and forces for the preſervation of the Empire, and to aſſiſt him to remove all mis-underſtandings from amonſt them. And if theſe thoughts ſeem below the flight of a young Eagle; at leaſt, I would have them to perſwade themſelves that he is extreamly generous, and that will not permit him to have any obligations to theſe who ſerve him out of no kindneſs or love: and therefore, ſeeing theſe Confederates to be always puiſſantly armed

armed, he concluded the Peace, that he might be in a condition to reſiſt them, or any elſe would attack him. If it be ſaid, this League is meerly defenſive, that it hath no other end then the good and quyet of the Confederates, it will be anſwered, that the taking the Cities of Munſter and Erfurt, and the danger other Towns apprehends, lets us ſee, that this defenſive League, & theſe who made it, can lay their hands about them when they think it time to attack, or enterpriſe any thing. The Biſhop of Munſter, as brave as he is, durſt never have hazarded to beſiege the Capital City of his Dioceſſe, if he had not been aſſiſted with both the troops and moneys of his Allies. The like may be ſaid of the Elector of Mayence, who is a Prince both rich, and wiſe, yet the City of Erfurt would not have been afraid of him, in the time of the war with the Turk, if the Confederates of his Electoral Highneſs, had not contributed to the misfortune of that inſolent City. It is therefore very expedient, that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould be in a poſture to concur with theſe confederated Princes, when their pretentions are reaſonable, and to oppoſe them when they are unjuſt. And this was not in his power to do, while he was buſied in a war with the Infidel; and this is that which ſerves for a juſtification of the Peace he hath lately made, that by it he is in a condition to countenance thoſe, who ſhall ſtand in need of his Arms, and of his Protection.

I ſuppoſe there be ſome in the world, who will grant, that this diſcourſe bears with it ſome ſhow of truth; and theſe who are not too much wedded to their opinions, I hope, will believe that his Imperial

Majeſty had no ſuſpicion of either the French or the Swedes: yea I ſhall find ſome, who dare give aſſurance to both the Proteſtants & the Confederates, that this Peace ſhal not trouble their repoſe; as alſo to all Germany, that it is an advantageous Peace to both great and ſmall; and that none of them ſhal have reaſon to complain of it, unleſs it be, that the Emperor made it without ſeeking the advice of the Princes of the Empire. I made this objection, before any ſpoke of it to me, and I thought as my adverſaries do, that the war having drawn theſe Princes to an extraordinary trouble and expence, they would look joyfully on that Peace would rid them of both. And in regard contempt is inſupportable to men of quality and courage, I perſwaded my ſelf, they could not hear without ſome emotion of ſpirit, that his Majeſty had valued them ſo little, as to conclude a Treaty of ſuch importance, without ſeeking their advice. I know there be many who complain, that theſe of the Court of Vienne never conſult with them, but when they ſtand in need of either their troops or their moneys, or both, and that this manner of acting is altogether unſufferable. I ſhould acknowledge this complaint to be juſt, if the Peace had been ſubſcribed and publiſhed without the approbation of thoſe who contributed to the war. But I do not believe, that any perſons of Judgement and experience, will think it ſtrange, that to ſhun the tedious delays, which accompany the reſolutions of all Imperial Diets, affairs have been debated, & brought to the point of a concluſion, without ſeeking the advice of theſe who might have retarded it. The intereſts of the ſeveral Eſtates of the

Empire

Empire are ſo different, and ſo hard a matter it is, to get them all to agree to one thing, that the Treaty ſhould not have produced that effect, which his Majeſty deſired, if he had called them all to Councel. Theſe who complain, ſees not, nor knows not ſo well what is in the Emperors coffers, as they who adviſed him to this accommodation. The affairs of Tranſilvany having obliged his Imperial Majeſty to keep numerous forces a foot five or ſix years, hath eaten up his Fronteer Provinces, and even forced his Councel in prudence, to ſhun more quarterings on them, leſt they ſhould have been laid entirely waſte. If all the Germans loved the Emperor, as well-bred children love their Fathers, they would believe all he does, aims at nothing but the good of the State. None would blame his conduct, but all the world would praiſe him, for the care he hath had, and the pains he hath taken, to acquire to us the ineſtimable benefit of Peace. But I ſhal ſuppoſe, that the Eſtates of the Empire, have ſome reaſon to complain: and therefore will ask of theſe who are moſt capricious, and leaſt reaſonable, if they will be ſatisfied, if the Emperor tell them, that he waits for their approbation to conclude a buſineſs advantageous and profitable to all Germany, and particularly to them? It is like, there are ſome who will ſay, that will not ſatisfie, and will offer to aſſure us, that the charges they have been at, and the trouble they have ſuffered to ſuccour his Imperial Majeſty, hath deſerved ſomething more then that. And here, I profeſs, I had rather hold my peace, then ſpeak. I know the ſervices the Emperor hath received from the Eſtates of the

Empire, cryes for a thankful acknowledgement, and that he is unworthy of any favor, who intends to pay it with ingratitude: As alſo, that he who exacts more then is juſtly own to him, ſerves to be paid with little, or with none at all; for I hold it to be unqueſtionable, that the acknowledgement ſhould be proportionable to the favor. It will be raſh and inſolent, to demand of the Emperor an entire ſubmiſſion of his will to that of his Princes, becauſe they aſſiſted him, and it were to oblige him to an impoſſibility, to pretend, he might do nothing of himſelf in a Kingdom, which hath no dependance on Germany. I ſhould think it ſufficient, that his Majeſty deſcends ſo low, as to demand their conſent and approbation: And that he lets them ſee, that he entertains as high an eſtimation of them, as he ſhould, and values them as much as ever any of his Anceſtors valued any of theirs. If all this will not ſatisfie, the Emperor will let them ſee, the ſuccours they gave him, tending to the preſervation of his Eſtates, aimed alſo at the preſervation of the Empire. His Majeſty will confeſs, that his hereditary Dominions are more expoſed to the injuries and incurſions of the Turk, then any other of the Empire; But he will never be induced to believe, that they only are in danger. The common enemies ambition is not arreſted by the conqueſt of ſome places, a world will no more ſatisfie him then the Great Alexander. And Hungary ſhal no ſooner fall in his hands. but he will advance with his victorious arms further, if the united forces of Chriſtians retain him not within the bounds of his duty. The Princes then aſſiſted his Imperial Majeſty

jeſty, by ſaving themſelves: And whoever will expoſtulate with him for ſuch a favor, will loſe the fruits of it, and will ſhow that he knows not, that the Grand Seigneurs ambition hath no other limit, but that of his power.

Believing then, that the Eſtates of the Empire will eaſily acquieſce to his Majeſties juſt deſires, I ſhal leave them, and make a ſtep over to Poſe and Venice, and ſee with what aſſurance, and upon what grounds it is ſaid, that the Emperor made haſte to make this Peace, to prevent the Venetians, who were buſie in clapping up one with the Sultan, and to be in a condition to receive the Crown which the Polonians promiſed him.

As to Pole, all Europe knows that in the year 1655. the King of Sweden invaded that Kingdom; and that in a ſhort time he reduced it to the neceſſity to implore aſſiſtance from its neighbors. Neither can any be ignorant, but it found the Emperor diſpoſed to furniſh it with means to reſiſt its enemie, and ready to ſend ſixteen thouſand men to reſtrain his further progreſs. They ſay, that amongſt the conditions of the Accord, that of the Election of Leopold, after John Caſimirs death, was the moſt conſiderable: And upon this, they ground their opinion, who ſay, that the Peace of Hungary was made, that the Emperor might with leſs oppoſition enter to that great Inheritance. Treaties of this nature comes to the knowledge but of a few, and therefore it were raſhneſs to avouch it to be true, and folly obſtinatly to deny it. It ſeems not improbable, but the Polonians being brought to miſery, might promiſe all could be deſired of them, by

theſe who would put them in a more hopeful condition. But I ſee very great difficulties in the performance of this promiſe, as well on their part, who made it, as on his to whom it was made. Theſe who made it, are the Polonians, who in a buſineſs of this nature, do not eaſily agree, and yet an accord amongſt themſelves is neceſſare to make the election of their Kings valide. He to whom it is made, is Leopold, Emperor of the Romans, who cannot receive that Crown, without putting Europe in a flame, his own Eſtates in danger, and impoſing on the Empire a neceſſity to take arms. No Prince or State will ſit with croſſd arms, when a powerful neighbor acquires new Provinces. The Swedes, the Muſcovites, and the Turks, cannot ſee Pole in the power of the Houſe of Auſtria without reſentment. The firſt will be afraid, they may be forced to give back that which they have gained with the point of their ſword, and with ſolemn Treaties. The ſecond will apprehend, they may be neceſſitated to keep within theſe bounds which they would gladly enlarge. And the third will imagine, that upon the union of Pole with Auſtria depends the ruine of Conſtantinople. The Muſcoviter will make Peace with his neighbors, the Swed will conjure up his old practiſes; And the Turk will raiſe up Aſia; and all of them will endeavor to hinder the Emperor to enjoy the fruits of his election in Peace. The Turk will imploy all his induſtry and wiles, the Swed all his Arſenals and Magazins, and the Muſcoviter all his riches and treaſure, to divert Pole from the performance of what it hath promiſed. Germany will not deſire to ſee the

Emperor

Emperor on the Throne of Pole, nay its Princes will bind all the nerves of their power and prudence together, to hinder him to mount upon it. The moſt underſtanding of the Polonians themſelves, who fore-ſee the ſad conſequences of this election, will be well contented, it prove abortive. Theſe who in all ages envyed the growth of the Auſtrian Family, will open their purſes to hinder this addition to its greatneſs. And in a word, all Europe will take arms either for the Emperor, or againſt him: So that it is uncertain, if this election will go on to the content of the pretenders, and if they be not very well aſſured, that it will have that ſucceſs they propoſe to themſelves, they ſhould in prudence ſeem not to deſire it. For my part, I believe the Emperor makes it rather his work to guard himſelf from the ſtorm that menaceth him on the other ſide, by oppoſing himſelf to any choice may be made of one of thoſe who envy his family, then to procure his own election. Certainly Pole hath need of a King, who can repare its loſſes, and put it again in that flowriſhing condition, which made our fathers look upon it with admiration. But the jealouſie the Polonians would give to their neighbors by the election of a Potentate already conſiderably eminent by the power of other Kingdoms, ſhould lead them to the choice of a Prince, who would give no cauſe of ſuſpicion to any. I know ſome, whoſe high vertues and qualifications ſpeak them worthy of Crowns, whom the Houſes of Auſtria and France, would be content to ſee ſit on the Throne of Pole, whom Sweden and Muſcovia will reſpect without fear, whom the Ottoman

Port would ſuffer without diſpleaſure, and whom the Polonians would not reject, if they have not entirely forgot the true intereſt of their Republick. It is to ſuch that all Europe wiſheth the Polonian Scepter: It is ſuch who can accept it, without troubling the quyet of Chriſtendom. It is to ſuch that Pole may give it, without fear to ſow the bitter ſeed of diſcord in its own bowels. Not knowing then whether the Emperor be deſirous to have the Crown of Pole, or not, I ſhal not doubt but his Counſel will reflect ſeriouſly on theſe difficulties that will rencounter him, and upon theſe horrid wars which will accompany an honor which all his neighbors will envy him, and which none of his friends ſhould wiſh to him.

As to what they ſay, that the Emperor knew that the Venetians were in treaty with the Turk, to obtain a Peace from him for themſelves, and let the whole burden of the war fall on his Majeſty alone: I profeſs freely, I do not know what to believe of that intrigue; but if we ſhal narrowly examine the circumſtances of affairs, and of the time, we may make a concluſion of the contrare: for though we need not doubt but the Venetians with all their hearts wiſh to have Peace, and that they would willingly empty their treaſure to recover what they have loſt in their laſt war with that enemy; yet I ſuppoſe there be none who thinks they would do it at that time when the Peace of Hungary was concluded. It is more then ten years ſince the Senate of that Republick could have ſpared all the expence they have beſtowed on the maintenance of the war ſince that time, if they would

would have given over their right of the Kingdom of Candia to the Grand Seigneur: And the Peace they could have expected at this time, would have been no more favorable then before: And the Venetians having then a repugnancy from ſo diſadvantageous a Peace, when they alone ſuſtained the whole Turkiſh forces, there is little or no appearance at all they would conſent to it, when Germany made ſo conſiderable a diverſion of the Ottoman power; and that they might perſwade themſelves, that time would give them an opportunity to repair the breaches of their Eſtate, and force the Turk to an accommodation leſs hurtful to them. I ſhal rather believe, that his Imperial Majeſty inclined to bring the common enemy of Chriſtians to an accord profitable to all Chriſtendom. But that the unhappy conjuncture of affairs took from him the means to bring his heroick deſigns to ſo glorious an end, he was forced to be contented to do all he could, and leave the accompliſhment of the reſt to Divine Providence. It is that will care for the Venetians, and will prepare friends for them, able to deliver them from theſe evils that now preſſeth and threatens to oppreſs them. All Chriſtendom wiſheth and prayeth for this to them, and I as much as any, becauſe I know that the piety and valor of the illuſtrious Venetians, deſerves that both heaven and earth ſhould favor them.

I ſuppoſe what I have ſaid will ſatisfie theſe who are governed by reaſon, and not by a capricious humor: and that all thoſe who ſhal read this paper, will acknowledge with me, that his Majeſty was not carried with any violent thoughts to conclude this Peace

Peace. I know, honeſt men will confeſs the Emperor hath reaſon to love and honor the Moſt Chriſtian King, and that prudence and reaſon of State, will oblige him to diſſemble the diſpleaſure which the Confederate Princes have given him occaſion to conceive againſt their proceedings; that his intereſt will oblige him to defer and delay the Reformation of the Proteſtants. That he hath no other concern in the buſineſs of Pole, but to hinder any perſon of whom he may have juſt cauſe of jealouſie, to receive the Scepter of that Kingdom. That he hath no intention to pay the Venetians in their own coyn: And that the Sweds ſhal have him for their friend, ſo long as they keep themſelves within their bounds, and live as good neighbors, and true and faithful members of the Empire.

I do now only imagine, that it will be told me, that the Hungarians have ſome reaſon to complain: And that it would ſeem the Emperor behaveth himſelf to them, rather as a ſtepfather, then a father, in regard to ſpare his men and his money, he hath made a Peace diſadvantageous for them. But they will alter their opinion who ſay ſo, when they underſtand that (which none ſhould be ignorant of) this people did ſo often threaten the Emperor to lay down arms, and make their own agreement with the Viſier, that they impoſed a pure neceſſity on his Majeſty to prevent them. The Chriſtian ſojors received as much, yea more hurt from them, then from the Turks. And none were aſſured of their lives, where they were ſtrongeſt. Our horſes, yea our men ſtarved for hunger, in regard none could go abroad to fetch either proviant

proviant or fodderage, without whole Regiments to guard them. I have ſeen letters writ by the Officers of our armies, wherein they complained, that the throats of moſt of their ſervants were cut by thoſe for whoſe ſafety they were generouſly expoſing their lives. Many French in their return from thisexpedition, have told me, that theſe of them who went never ſo little aſtray, or who ſtraggled, were preſently ſacrificed to the fury of that mercileſs people. And that amongſt them, it was accounted a crime to be well cloathed, or to look like men that had money. It will be anſwered, that ſojors, though friends are inſupportable to the inhabitants of any Countrey which is the ſeat of the war, that they take with ſtrong hand, not only what is neceſſare for their ſubſiſtence, but much more, and ſo robs the people of that wherewith they ſhould maintain themſelves and their children, and conſequently drives them to diſpair, from whence proceeds theſe exceſſes whereof I have ſpoken. Let us grant all this to be true, and let us add to it, that the orders of his Imperial Majeſty have been ill obſerved; and that the Officers of his armies wanting bread to give their ſojors, were conſtrained to ſlack the reins of diſcipline, and to permit them to do that which is diſcharged by the Military Laws of the moſt licencious war. Let it be granted, that the diſorders were as high as they can be imagined to be, and that it was impoſſible for the ſojors to do worſe then they did; it cannot be denyed, that the greater miſchiefs the war drew upon that misfortunate Countrey, the leſs reaſon the Emperor had to continue it: And the more hurt the Hungarians ſuffered by the

war

war, the leſs reaſon they have to complain of the Peace. This Peace hath taken a thorn out of their foot, and hath freed his Majeſty from the misfortune to ſee his friends and his ſubjects made the objects of their diſpair. Some will ſay, that by this Peace this people have loſt a part of that they had in Hungary, whereas they hoped to have recovered by the war what they had loſt, and this ſad conſideration hath put tears in their eyes, and mournful complaints in their mouthes. I confeſs, they have reaſon to bewail their loſſes, and that all Chriſtians ſhould pitty the wretched Hungarians, and be ſory they are no more the Bulwark of Chriſtendom, and the terror of Infidels. He muſt have a heart of Marble, who will not be grieved for the loſſes Jeſus Chriſt ſuffers, and the advantages Mahomet gains. He muſt be a brute, who hath not a kindneſs for the warlike people of Hungary. The Hungarians are volage and unconſtant; but they are Chriſtians. They have often contributed to their own miſery, both by their malice, and their inadvertency; but they are Chriſtians. They have often called in the Mahometans to aſſiſt them againſt their lawful Kings; but they are Chriſtians. And though they had done worſe then all that, I ſhould ſtill bewail their misfortunes, becauſe they are Chriſtians. And I do believe, though we be in a better condition then the Hungarians, yet we are no better men. But the time of their deliverance is not yet comd: and we do but yet expect the ruine of the Turks Empire. We hope notwithſtanding that ſo great a deliverance is not far of. And we know aſſuredly, that our hopes ſhal not prove vain. The Turkiſh

kiſh Monarchy hath no more priviledges, then theſe who have been before it. And the Hungarians will be unhappy in no higher meaſure, then others who have called upon the Name of JESUS. God grant it be ſoon that this afflicted Nation, and we who are pertakers of their affliction, may have occaſion to wipe the tears from our eyes, and to rejoyce when we ſee the Almighty hath a care of his own people, and delivers them from the oppreſſion of their enemies. To him alone belongs honor and glory for evermore.

P. I have attentively red and peruſed your papers, and having nothing to oppoſe to what you have ſaid, I return you them, with many thanks. I can aſſure you, I will never forget the good inſtructions you have given me. You may therefore go and repoſe your ſelf a little: after which, I ſhal intreat you to entertain me with a Diſcourſe of forreign affairs: And running over with me the beſt places of Europe, to ſpeak of them, as you have done of our own Germany.

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F I N I S.